











THE JOURNAL  
OF THE  
**British**  
**Archaeological Association,**

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE  
ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES  
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE  
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

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## PREFACE.

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THE FORTY-NINTH VOLUME OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION for the year 1893 contains twenty-eight Papers read at the recent Congress at Cardiff in the summer of 1892, or during the evening meetings of the sessions in London, and the Proceedings of the Congress and evening meetings. The volume has been illustrated with several plates which have been contributed by the liberality of the authors of the Papers to which they appertain; and by this means the Association has been enabled to give a more pictorial aspect to the volume than would otherwise have been possible.

The past year has not been particularly fruitful in archæological discoveries in England, nor in the ventilation of any very new and startling theories; but among the contents of this book will be found Papers of original research relating to the archaic, prehistoric, and early historic periods of the history of Great Britain, to ecclesiastical and monastic architecture, and to domestic and

popular antiquities; and short notices of the latest discoveries and newest books on subjects with which the antiquary should be familiar.

The recent endeavour to bring about a fusion of the Association with another of kindred character, which some believed would redound to the benefit of both, while others doubted the wisdom of such a course, has not been attended with any practical result. Whether this is to be regretted or not, it is perhaps unwise to speculate; but it is probable that the literary yield of the Societies thus amalgamated would have fallen short in quantity of the issues of the two Societies while separate, and by this much at least the archaeological world would have been the poorer. For the present, therefore, we must endeavour to advance the study of antiquity in the way and by the means which the Association has had at command for half a century, and let our motto be: "*Stare super antiquas vias*".

W. DE GRAY BIRCH.

London;

31 December 1893.



# British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Sub-Treasurer, Samuel Rayson, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch", should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or FIFTEEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA, except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archaeological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, in which case the entrance-fee is remitted. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1:1 each to Associates; £1:11:6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1:11:6; to the Associates, £1:1.

In addition to the *Journal*, published every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archaeologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper.*)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Another Index, to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archaeologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1892-93 are as follow:—1892, Nov. 16; Dec. 7. 1893, January 4, 18; Feb. 1, 15; March 1, 15; April 5, 19; May 3 (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 p.m.), 17; June 7.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

## RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

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THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of Patrons, Associates, Local Members of Council, Honorary Correspondents, and Honorary Foreign Members.

1. The Patrons,—a class confined to members of the royal family or other illustrious persons.
2. The Associates shall consist of ladies or gentlemen elected by the Council, and who, upon the payment of one guinea entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of the Royal Archaeological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archaeology), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or fifteen guineas as a life-subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Council, and admit one visitor to each of the ordinary meetings of the Association.
3. The Local Members of Council shall consist of such of the Associates elected from time to time by the Council, on the nomination of two of its members, who shall promote the views and objects of the Association in their various localities, and report the discovery of antiquarian objects to the Council. There shall be no limit to their number, but in their election the Council shall have regard to the extent and importance of the various localities which they will represent. The Local Members shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council, to advise them, and report on matters of archaeological interest which have come to their notice; but they shall not take part in the general business of the Council, or be entitled to vote on any subject.
4. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two Members of the Council, or of four Associates.
5. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious or learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

## ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, two Honorary Secretaries, and eighteen other Associates, all of whom shall constitute the Council, and two Auditors without seats in the Council.

The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

## ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, members of Council, and Officers, shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, to be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year. Such election shall be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during at least one hour. A majority of votes shall determine the election. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the Chairman, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two Scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists and report thereon to the General Meeting.
2. If any member of the Council, elected at the Annual General Meeting, shall not have attended three meetings of the Council, at least, during the current session, the Council shall, at their meeting held next before the Annual Meeting, by a majority of votes of the members present, recommend whether it is desirable that such member shall be eligible for re-election or not, and such recommendation shall be submitted to the Annual Meeting on the ballot papers.

## CHAIRMAN OF MEETINGS.

1. The President, when present, shall take the chair at all meetings of the Association. He shall regulate the discussions and enforce the laws of the Association.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by the Treasurer, or, in his absence, by the senior or only Vice-President present, and willing to preside; or in default, by the senior elected Member of Council or some officer present.
3. The Chairman shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.



## THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Association, discharge all debts previously presented to and approved of by the Council, and shall make up his accounts to the 31st of December in each year, and having had his accounts audited he shall lay them before the Annual Meeting. Two-thirds of the life-subscriptions received by him shall be invested in such security as the Council may approve.

## THE SECRETARIES.

The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the Members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association. The notices of meetings of the Council shall state the business to be transacted, including the names of any candidates for the office of Vice-President or Members of Council, but not the names of proposed Associates or Honorary Correspondents.

## THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the Associates ; whose names, when elected, are to be read over at the ordinary meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require, and five members shall be a quorum.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members, notice of proposed election being given at the immediately preceding Council meeting.
5. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The ordinary meetings of the Association shall be held on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to April inclusive, the third Wednesday in May, and the first Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely, for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.

The Annual General Meeting of the Association shall be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year, at 4.30 p.m. precisely, at which the President, Vice-Presidents, and officers of the Association shall be elected, and such other business shall be conducted as may be deemed advisable for the well-being of the Association; but none of the rules of the Association shall be repealed or altered unless twenty-eight days' notice of intention to propose such repeal or alteration shall have been given to the Secretaries, and they shall have notified the same to the Members of the Council at their meeting held next after receipt of the notice.

2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Associates, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly, stating therein the object for which the meeting is called.
  3. A General Public Meeting or Congress shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom, at such time and for such period as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.
  4. The Officers having the management of the Congress shall submit their accounts to the Council at their next meeting after the Congress shall have been held, and a detailed account of their personal expenses, accompanied by as many vouchers as they can produce.
-

## LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY . . . 1845 WINCHESTER . . . 1846 GLOUCESTER . . . 1847 WARWICK . . . 1848 WORCESTER . . . 1849 CHESTER . . .	THE LORD A. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	
1851 DERBY . . .	
1852 NEWARK . . .	
1853 ROCHESTER . . .	
1854 CHEPSTOW . . .	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT . . .	
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH }	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1857 NORWICH . . .	
1858 SALISBURY . . .	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1859 NEWBURY . . .	THE MARQUESS OF AILESBUURY
1860 SHREWSBURY . . .	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1861 EXETER . . .	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1862 LEICESTER . . .	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, BT.
1863 LEEDS . . .	JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1864 IPSWICH . . .	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1865 DURHAM . . .	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1866 HASTINGS . . .	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1867 LUDLOW . . .	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1868 CIRENCESTER . . .	SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, BT.
1869 ST. ALBAN'S . . .	THE EARL BATHURST
1870 HEREFORD . . .	THE LORD LYTTON
1871 WEYMOUTH . . .	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON . . .	SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, BT., D.C.L.
1873 SHEFFIELD . . .	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1874 BRISTOL . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1875 EVESHAM . . .	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE

Congresses have been already held at		Under the Presidency of
1877	LLANGOLLEN . . .	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878	WISBECH . . .	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879	YARMOUTH & NORWICH	THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.
1880	DEVIZES . . .	THE EARL NELSON
1881	GREAT MALVERN . . .	LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER
1882	PLYMOUTH . . .	THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.
1883	DOVER . . .	THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.
1884	LENNY . . .	THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S
1885	BRIGHTON . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1886	DARLINGTON AND BISHOP AUCKLAND . . .	THE BISHOP OF DURHAM
1887	LIVERPOOL . . .	SIR J. A. PICTON, F.S.A.
1888	GLASGOW . . .	THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.
1889	LINCOLN . . . )	THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOT- TINGHAM
1890	OXFORD . . . )	
1891	YORK . . .	THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.
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1893.

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UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF

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*See Wrapper, p. 4.*



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THE

### ROYAL JUDICIAL SEALS

OF THE

### KING'S GREAT SESSIONS IN WALES.

BY ALLAN WYON, ESQ., V.P., HON. TREASURER,  
F.S.A., F.R.G.S.,  
CHIEF ENGRAVER OF HER MAJESTY'S SEALS.

(Read at the Cardiff Congress, 23 August 1892.)

WALES, unlike England and Scotland, is unable to boast of a series of Great Seals; the Seals, indeed, of those two countries being the most magnificent and important ever produced in Europe, or elsewhere. But Wales for 300 years had an important and striking series of large seals, which within the Principality were the chief of such emblems of sovereignty in Wales, and these seals were known as the Royal Judicial Seals of the King's Great Sessions in Wales. A few notes upon, and a short description of, some of these seals here may long preserve the memory of the series.

Before commencing to describe them, however, I desire to state that my attention was recently called to the existence of these seals by our Honorary Secretary, Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, whose *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of MSS., British Museum*, is at once a monument of patient laborious research, and a mine of interesting information. Mr. Birch was kind enough to hand me a list of some of these seals to be found in the British Museum, on seeing which I recognised that they belonged to the same series as nine other seals, of which

I found impressions in my own studio, placed there, doubtlessly, by my grandfather in the first quarter of the present century. I believe that none of these have ever yet been described.

One other prefatory remark I would wish to make, and that is with reference to the Courts of the Great Sessions in Wales, where these seals were to be used. This would not be the right time for tracing the development of the formation of legal courts throughout the Principality. But perhaps I may be permitted very briefly to state that shortly after the absorption of Wales into the Kingdom of England, and the passing of the *Statutum Walliæ* (12 Edward I), A.D. 1283, Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Snowdon had a court of their own, presided over by "the justice of Snowdon", who resided in the castle of Carnarvon. During the following 250 years, or so, other parts of Wales were formed into counties, and various courts established within them, until in 1535 an Act of Parliament (27 Henry VIII, c. 26) was passed, and the last four counties, namely, those of Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, and Denbigh, were organised, and the whole twelve counties of Wales were completed. Seven or eight years later, another Act was passed (34 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 26), and by it it was decreed that there should be holden and kept sessions twice in every year in the Principality, "the which sessions shall be called the King's Great Sessions in Wales". In this Act various new seals are ordered to be made, and then in clause XXXI it continues:—"Over and besides the said original seals there shall be four judicial seals devised by the King's majesty, whereof one shall remain with the justice of *Chester*, which is appointed by this Act to be justice of the shires of *Flint*, *Denbigh*, and *Montgomery*, to be used within the said shires to seal all judicial processes and lills that shall be sued before the said justice, in the sessions to be holden within the same shires; (2) and that one other of the said judicial seals shall likewise remain, and be in the charge and custody of the said justice of *North Wales*; (3) and that the third of the said seals shall be and remain in the custody and charge of the justice of the three shires of *Glamorgan*, *Brecknock*, and *Radnor*; (4) and the fourth of the said seals shall







remain in the charge and custody of the justice of the said three shires of *Pembroke*, *Caermarthen*, and *Cardigan*, (5) and the said justices shall seal with the said judicial seals, that is to say, every of them with the seal committed to his charge and custody, as well as all bills, as all other judicial proofs, that shall be sued before them in the said sessions, upon any original bills or writs, and all other process that shall be awarded from any of the said justices shall be sealed with the said judicial seals." It is these seals which are now before us; and you will notice that the four groupings of the counties approximately tally with the four provinces into which Wales had formerly been divided, the North Wales, or Carnarvon group lying where *Gwynedd* formerly lay, the Caermarthen group occupying the position of *Dyfed*, the Denbigh group being where *Powys* had been, and the Glamorgan group where *Gwent* formerly was. These Courts of Great Sessions being thus established, continued in full force and authority until 12th October 1830, when, by Act of Parliament (1 William IV, c. 70), these courts were abolished, and Wales became circuit ground for English judges to visit and hold courts in.

And now, turning to the seals themselves, we notice they varied in size from time to time, the diameters ranging from three to four inches. The seals had two sides. Upon the obverse was generally represented the sovereign on horseback, often in a manner similar to that of the appearance of the sovereign upon the Great Seal of England at the same time. The reverses bore the Royal Arms of the sovereign, but with various supporters, the significance of which I propose to dwell upon a little later. I would now merely remark that each great session had its own supporters, which were different for each group of counties. These supporters were as follows:—For the Carnarvon group, *dexter*, a greyhound; *sinister*, a stag; for the Caermarthen group, *dexter*, a dragon; *sinister*, a goat; for the Denbigh group, *dexter*, a lion guardant, royally crowned; *sinister*, a stag gorged with a royal coronet, a chain affixed thereto passing between the forelegs, and reflexed over the back; and for the Glamorgan group, *dexter*, a greyhound (sometimes gorged); *sinister*, a hind gorged with a royal

coronet, a chain affixed thereto passing between the fore-legs, and reflexed over the back. The shield was generally ensigned with a Royal crown; and the three ostrich feathers, and the motto, *ICH DIEX*, of the Prince of Wales, also generally appeared somewhere in the design.

Looking at the seals in detail, the first we notice is one of Henry VIII for the Denbigh group (8650). It is about 3 in. in dia. I notice over the horse's crupper a ball upon the top of the caparison. What this precisely is I do not know, but it appears to be put in as significant of something. Edward IV had a similar ball to his fourth Great Seal of England.<sup>1</sup> A similar ball appears in the Great Seal of England of Edward VI. It appears on this Welsh seal, as also on one of Edward VI's, and one of Queen Elizabeth's Welsh seals. In some of these seals there is a small spike on the top of the ball. It has been suggested that a ball with spike might have been fastened on the caparison of warriors to prevent others clambering upon the crupper of the horse, and thus overcoming the knight or warrior, who, armed with his shield and lance, and encased in heavy armour, would be formidable enough for direct assault in front, but would be powerless against any agile assailant from the rear. The legend on this seal is, *HENRIC VIII DEI GRA ANGLIE FRAC ET HIBNE REX FIDI DEFES ET INTR<sup>A</sup> ECCL AGL HIBNICE SVPREM CAPVT.*

On the reverse is the legend, *✠ S. IVDICIALE DNI REGIS PRO COMITATIBVS DENBIGHE MONTGOMERI ET FLINT.* Small crosses separate each word.

The next seal (xxxvii, 60) is that of Edward VI for the counties last mentioned. The design appears to have been identically the same as that of the last seal, but with the legend altered, the fleur-de-lys at the commencement being replaced by a cinquefoil, and the words *HENRIC VIII* altered to *EDWARD VI.*

The following seal (8528) is for the Carnarvon group of counties, and is one of Edward VI. Although similar to the last, the obverse is distinctly different, the foot of the King in the Denbigh seal showing below the caparison, whilst the foot in the Carnarvon seal is well above it. The caparison in this seal has an ornamented

<sup>1</sup> *Great Seals of England*, p. 62.







border all around it, but this border is lacking in the other seal. The reverse of this Carnarvon seal is ruder than that for Denbigh, and the crosses and fleurs-de-lys in the crown are wider and of a different shape. The same remark applies to the charges on the shield.

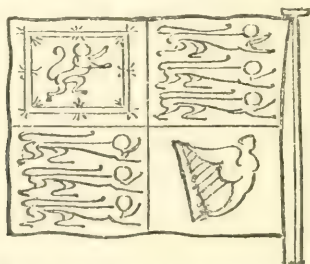
The next seal to which I would invite your attention is that of Queen Elizabeth for the Denbigh group of counties (xxxvii, 70), and is remarkable from the fact that the Queen is clothed in complete armour like a man, and is seated astride of the horse in masculine fashion. The reason why the Queen was thus represented is not obvious. That it was engraved for a Queen (and not a King) is clear when we notice that the seal is distinctly different from those of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Of course, it may have been Mary's seal with an altered legend; but then we are thrown back upon the same anomaly of a Queen being habited and riding like a man. The caparison on the horse is not so intelligently represented as on the seals of Henry VIII and Edward VI. In those seals of the Kings the Arms of England and France are shown reversed, *i.e.*, the first quartering appears to the sinister, instead of the dexter side, and all the lions are made passant to the sinister, instead of to the dexter: the reason being that the chest of the horse is taken as the place of honour, similarly to the staff of a flag, where all quarterings and charges are so arranged that whichever side of the flag is shown the place of honour is the staff, and all quarterings count from it, and charges are turned towards it. As mistakes are frequently made upon these points, I venture to make my meaning clearer by referring to the accompanying illustrations of the same caparison, and flags with the arms correctly shown, as seen from the right or left. (See pp. 6 and 7.) In this seal of Elizabeth the lions are placed in the first and fourth quarters, instead of the second and third, which they should be if they are passant to the dexter, as represented. A ball appears on the crupper of this horse also.

On the next seal (lxxvi, 90, 91), which is that of Elizabeth for the Caermarthen group of counties, the Queen appears on horseback in female attire, seated sideways, with her right hand holding the reins, and in her

left hand a sceptre. A square saddle-cloth falls over the horse's back to some distance below the feet of the Queen. No caparison appears on this horse. On the field of the seal behind the Queen is a Tudor porteullis ensigned with a crown. The supporters on the reverse of this seal are engraved in a very rude manner. The crown is bold and clear.



Caparison of King. Right Side, showing Arms reversed.



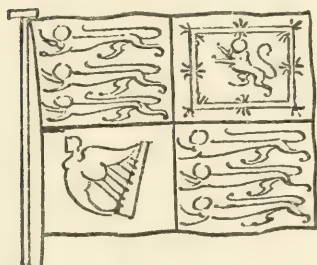
Royal Standard flying to the Left, showing Arms reversed.

The next seal (xxxvii, 71, and Ad. Chart. 8657, 8658), that of James I for the Denbigh group of counties, is nearly 4 in. diameter, a much larger size than that of the preceding seals. The King on the obverse wears a crown ensigning his helmet, in place of the crest that has appeared on former seals. An immense plume of feathers issues from the helmet of the King, and a smaller plume is on the

horse's head. The caparison is small, and is richly ornamented with foliage, to which is appended a broad ornamental border. The armour of the horse is confined to small plates for the front of the head and the back of the neck. The horse is of the shire or cart-horse breed—the war-horse of the period.<sup>1</sup> The reverse shows the



Caparison of King. Left Side.



Royal Standard flying to the Right.

Royal Arms in a form very similar to those borne by her present Majesty, the fleurs-de-lys of France being the only difference. The date 1603 appears in the legend on this seal.

The seal of James I for the Caermarthen group of

<sup>1</sup> *The Old English War-Horse* (by Mr. Walter Gilbey: London, 1888), pp. 14, 15.

counties (Ad. Chart. 979), displays the King on horseback in a manner similar to that on his seal for Denbigh; but here the King's crown disappears from his helmet, and the Royal crest stands in its place. The saddle-cloth, which is square and small, surmounts the two parts of the caparison, which is made of net, with tassels hanging from the points of juncture of the cords. The net is surrounded by an ornamental border.

The seal for the Glamorgan group of counties (xliii, 10) shows the King's helmet crowned, but without feathers. On the field of the seal, behind the King, is a portcullis ensigned with a crown. The caparison here is ornamented with flowers. The supporters on the reverse appear more roughly executed than the other parts of the seal.

The seals of Charles I are worthy of special attention, as we happen to have better impressions of them than of some of those of the preceding sovereigns. The one for the Carnarvon group of counties (xxvii, 73) is specially fine. The King wears a crown over his helmet, from which proceeds a large plume of feathers. The caparison of the horse is diapered with roses and fleurs-de-lys. The obverse of the Seal of Charles I for the Denbigh group of counties (xxxvii, 74) presents a striking resemblance to this King's first Great Seal of England.<sup>1</sup> On the reverse the date 1626 appears in the legend, and the Royal initials C.R. are shown one on each side of the crown.

The next seal is that of the Commonwealth for the counties of Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Anglesea (xxxvii, 75, 4 in. diameter). On the obverse is a map of England, Wales, and Ireland, similar to that on the Great Seal of England,<sup>2</sup> engraved at the same time. The execution of the Welsh seal, however, is not by any means equal to that of the English seal. Besides the map, are ships represented upon the sea, which is covered with waves. The Arms of St. George for England are displayed upon a shield at the top of the seal, and towards the bottom of the seal, on the left hand, is another shield charged with a harp for Ireland. The number of names upon the map are not so numerous as those on the Great Seal. The legend is—SIGILLVM IVDICIALE PRO COMITATIBVS CARNAR-

<sup>1</sup> *The Great Seals of England*, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 93.







VAN MERIONETH ET ANGLESEA, 1648. A rose separates each word from the other.

The reverse of this seal represents the House of Commons in session, with the Speaker in the Chair, and the mace laid on the table, at which are two clerks writing. A member on the Speaker's right hand is addressing the House. The design is similar to that on the Great Seal of England, but the design of the Great Seal has been cut almost in half, the lower part being removed altogether to admit of a scroll-shield charged with the cross of St. George. Legend: IN THE FIRST YEARE OF FREEDOME BY GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED, 1648.

This seal is interesting, as showing that the Commonwealth in 1649 (New Style) at once had these seals engraved for the Great Sessions of Wales.

The next seal (lxxvi, 39, 40) is that of Charles II for the Denbigh group of counties, the obverse of which is of special interest, on account of the design adopted being that of the King's Great Seal of Scotland; the principal features being the head of the King, which is shown full face; the great length and position of the sword, which is held perfectly erect; and the forelegs of the horse, which are well raised above the ground. A landscape appears beneath the body of the horse with some distinctness, but it is unrecognisable. Behind the King's back, on the field of the seal, are the Prince of Wales' feathers and motto. Legend: CAROLVS II DEI GRATIA MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ FRANCIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ REX FIDEI DEFENS.

In the legend on the reverse is the date 1661, which shows the seal to have been engraved immediately after the Restoration.

The seal of Charles II for the Caermarthen group of counties (xxxvi, 183, 184) displays the King in armour on horseback. He brandishes above his head a short sword. The helmet has no visor or neck-piece, but from its back issues a large plume of seven feathers. The King's hair, in flowing locks, falls over his shoulders and down his back. His cuirass is covered by a sash, the two ends of which fly to some distance behind the King. On his left arm the king bears a small shield in a horizontal position; his Royal Arms appear thereon. The ground

beneath the horse is covered with foliage, but no landscape is depicted here.

The reverse calls for no special remark beyond the statement that the goat supporter appears to be dotted with some small charge, but so small as to be undecipherable. The crown shows four arches instead of two, and the crosses and fleurs-de-lys are separated by pearls.

The next seal to which I have to ask your attention is that of George III for the Glamorgan group of counties. The King is on horseback passing to the right, bare-headed, with his hair brought into a queue, holding his sword pointing in a vertical direction in his right hand. The saddle-cloth is decorated, and the holster is covered with a cloth ornamented with fringe. The figure of the King, his armour, the cuirass he wears, the riband and badge of the Order of the Garter, and the way in which he holds his sword, is like that of George III on his first Great Seal of England,<sup>1</sup> but the action of the horse is more statuesque. On the field of the seal, behind the King's back, are the feathers and motto of the Prince of Wales.

On the reverse of this seal are the arms, crest, supporters, feathers, motto, and legend as usual. The date of this seal is not given, but from the arms we know that it must have been engraved before 1801, as on the first day of that year the Arms of France ceased to appear in the Royal Arms of England, and the Arms of Hanover, which until then had occupied the fourth quarter, were placed on an inescutcheon, besides various other alterations which were effected at the same time.

We next come to four seals of George III, all the obverses of which are similar. The King is on horseback, passing to the right, as on the fifth Great Seal of England<sup>2</sup> made for this sovereign. The head of the King is uncovered, but he wears a small wig. He is clad in mediæval armour, holding in his right hand a sword, which leans obliquely across the upper part of his arm. Over his right shoulder and round his left side passes a sash, which is tied together behind his back, the ends flying in the air. The horse has a square ornamented saddle-cloth, fringed, and curb single rein bridle.

<sup>1</sup> *The Great Seals of England*, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.







So far the description is applicable to the obverses of all the four seals under review. But now we have to notice a difference in each of the four seals, and to the Welsh members of this Congress I venture to look for aid in determining the questions about to be raised. Under the body of the horse in each seal is a pictorial representation of a landscape or a castle. On one seal is seen a hill, at the foot of which is a castle, the castle apparently standing upon high ground beside a river, or arm of the sea, as to the left are the masts and yards of ships to be seen. I venture to enquire whether this may not be *Carmarvon* Castle?

On a second seal there is a view of a bridge crossing a river, with a town on the further bank, walls, houses, and trees appearing pleasantly grouped together. With respect to this, I venture to enquire whether this is *Caermarthen*?

On a third seal is a castle upon the top of a hill, with a large circumventing wall at the base of the hill, the wall running up to a town seen to the right of the seal. Can this be meant for *Denbigh* Castle?

On the fourth seal are shown the ruins of some Edwardian castle, a wall pierced with a gateway standing between two round towers. Close by are some farm buildings of a more recent date, erected contiguous to the ruins. If the deciphering of the castles on the other three seals is correct, for which I have many reasons in each case to believe that it is so, then I should expect to find that this is a view of *Glamorgan* Castle, but so far I have failed to meet with sufficient evidence to make me feel sure that it is so.

The reverses of these seals display the Arms of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, surmounted by the Hanoverian inescutcheon, ensigned by the Crown of Hanover, showing that the seals must have been engraved subsequent to February 1811, when the Hanoverian Crown was put there instead of the Elector's Cap, which had occupied that place until that date.

For the seals of George IV I can only show one obverse; probably the design of the whole four obverses was precisely the same, namely, the King on horseback, exactly the same as on his Great Seal of England,<sup>1</sup> with

<sup>1</sup> *The Great Seals of England*, p. 129.

the feathers and motto of the Prince of Wales in the exergue instead of the date MDCCCXX.

The reverses of these seals are very similar to those of the four last mentioned of George III, but the arches of the crown are square-shaped instead of round, and the ermine lining to the crown is more horizontal.

This describes the last of the judicial seals of the Great Sessions of Wales, which I am able to lay before you on this occasion. There are many gaps in the series. I have no doubt that there are many more seals belonging to this series which are still in existence, and I take this opportunity of stating that, should they be met with, Mr. Birch, at the British Museum, or I, at my studio, 2, Langham Chambers, Portland Place, W., would be most happy to hear of them.

The legends on the reverses of the seals are as follows:—For the Carnarvon group of counties, SIGILLUM JUDICIALE PRO COMITATIBUS CARNARVON, MERIONETH, ET ANGLESEA; for the Denbigh group, SIGILLUM JUDICIALE PRO COMITATIBUS DENBIGH, MONTGOMERI, ET FLINT; for the Glamorgan group, SIGILLUM JUDICIALE PRO COMITATIBUS GLAMORGAN, BRECKNOCK, ET RADNOR (but in James I's seal [26,508, and xliii, 10] the order of the counties is altered to BRECKNOCK, RADNOR, ET GLAMORGAN); for the Caermarthen group, SIGILLUM PRO CANCELLARIA PRO COMITATIBUS, CAERMARTHEN, CARDIGAN ET PEMBROKE. Some of the words are sometimes contracted.

In conclusion, a word must be said about the supporters of the Royal Arms, which appear upon these seals. As before stated, they are a *lion* guardant, royally crowned, and a *stag gorged* with a royal coronet, etc., for the Denbigh seal; a *stag* and a *greyhound* for the Carnarvon seal; a *hind gorged*, with a royal coronet, etc., and a *greyhound* (sometimes *gorged*) for the Glamorgan seal; and a *dragon* for the Caermarthen seal. About all of these there is no difficulty. They were the supporters to the Royal Arms used by Henry VIII, or those used by his predecessors, to which, of course, he was equally entitled. The *lion*, as a supporter, was adopted by Henry VIII himself,<sup>1</sup> the Majesty by whom all these four judicial seals were “devised”. This lion has ever

<sup>1</sup> *Regul Heraldry*, p. 65.







since remained the principal supporter of the Royal Arms of England. The *stag* (or white hart), *gorged* and chained, had been the ordinary badge of Richard II.<sup>1</sup> The *greyhound*, *collared*, had been used as one of his supporters by Henry VII.<sup>2</sup> The *hind*, *gorged* and chained, together with the greyhound, had been the supporters to the Arms of John (son of John of Gaunt), Earl of Somerset, great-grandfather of Henry VII. The *griffin*, or red *dragon*, which for many years had been the emblem of the Kings of England, had been used by Henry VII<sup>3</sup> as the principal supporter of the Royal Arms, as can still be seen in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Its appropriateness here is further felt when we remember that the dragon is also said to have been the ensign of Cadwallader, the last King of the Britons.

Thus are all the supporters accounted for except one : that is the *goat*, which appears in the seal for the Caermarthen group of counties. The reason of its introduction is not clear. Subsequent to the time of Henry VIII the goat has come, in some measure, honourably to represent Wales, and thus a goat presented by Her Majesty the Queen is led at the head of the regiment of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers. But in 1542, when this supporter was first chosen, the goat, if looked upon as in any way representative of Wales, does not appear to have been regarded as a respected or honoured emblem in England ; at least, so I infer from the way in which Shakespeare refers to it in his *Henry V.* In the well-known leek-eating scene in that play (Act v, Scene 1) Fluellen says to Pistol : "I beseech you heartily, scurvy, lousy knave, at my desires, and my requests, and my petitions, to eat, look you, this leek : because, look you, you do not love it, nor your affections, and your appetites, and your digestions, does not agree with it, I would desire you to eat it." To which Pistol replies : "Not for Cadwallader and all his goats"; referring to the goats in evident contempt. Hence it would appear that goats were in some way symbolic of Wales, but not necessarily in any way that was generally accepted with respect. And yet, unless by some regarded with respect, it is difficult to account for the appearance of the goat on this seal.

<sup>1</sup> *Royal Heraldry*, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

## LIST OF CASTS OF SEALS EXHIBITED.

Sovereign.	Group of Counties.	Dia.	Brit. Mus. No.	Illustrated.
1. Henry VIII .	Denbigh .	2.8 in.	Ad. Chart. 8650	Pl. I, fig. 1
2. Edward VI .	Carnarvon .	2.8 „	xxxvii, 60 .	Pl. I, fig. 2
3. „ .	Denbigh .	2.9 „	8528	
4. Elizabeth .	„ .	2.9 „	xxxvii, 70 .	Pl. I, fig. 3
5. „ .	„ .	2.9 „	Ad. Chart. 8534	
6. „ .	Caermarthen	2.8 „	lxxxvi, 90, 91	
7. James I .	Denbigh .	3.8 „	xxxvii, 71	
8. „ .	„ .	3.8 „	xxxvii, 72	
9. „ .	„ .	3.8 „	Ad. Chart. 8657	
10. „ .	„ .	3.8 „	„ 8658	
11. „ .	Caermarthen	3.9 „	„ 979	
12. „ .	Glamorgan .	3.8 „	xlui, 10	
13. „ .	„ .	3.8 „	Ad. Chart. 26508	
14. Charles I .	Carnarvon .	3.9 „	xxvii, 73 .	Pl. II
15. „ .	Denbigh .	3.9 „	„ 74	
16. Commonwealth	Carnarvon .	4 „	„ 75 .	Pl. III
17. Charles II .	Denbigh .	4 „	lxxxvi, 39, 40 .	Pl. IV
18. „ .	Caermarthen	4.2 „	xxxvi, 183, 184	Pl. V
19. George III .	Glamorgan .	3.9 „	xcviii, 68, 69 .	Pl. VI
20. „ .	Carnarvon .	3.9 „	„ 62, 63	
21. „ .	Caermarthen	3.9 „	„ 66, 67	
22. „ .	Denbigh .	3.9 „	„ 64, 65	
23. „ .	Glamorgan .	3.9 „	„ 70, 71	
24. George IV .	Carnarvon .	3.9 „	„ 72, 73	Obv., Pl. VII
25. „ .	*Caermarthen	3.9 „	„ 75 .	Pl. VII
26. „ .	*Denbigh .	3.9 „	„ 74	
27. „ .	*Glamorgan .	3.9 „	„ 76	

On Plate I the seals are shown five-sixths actual size. On all the other Plates the seals are shown the exact size.

\* Reverse only.

Nos. 1-18 of these seals are described, and Nos. 1, 4, 8, 10, 11, and 13, are illustrated, in the *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum*, vol. ii, by W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., published since this paper was written. Nos 19-27 have been presented by the writer to the British Museum since the reading of this paper at Cardiff.







## THE EARLY CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS OF GLAMORGANSHIRE.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

THE necessary materials for writing the history of the early Christian monuments of Glamorganshire have already been collected. The work was begun in the seventeenth century by Edward Lhwyd, the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and the results of what was then known on the subject were published in E. Gibson's edition of *Camden's Britannia* (1695), but to Professor I. O. Westwood must be given the credit of having completed it in his *Lapidarium Walliæ*. Nor must the labours of the late Mr. E. Williams<sup>1</sup> (perhaps better known by his *nom de plume* of Iolo Morganwg) be passed over in silence. His readings of many of the inscriptions are preserved in MS. at Fônmon Castle, and are very valuable in cases where the stones have been subsequently injured by the effects of weathering.

Professor Westwood and his predecessors in this branch of archaeological research have made their explorations so thoroughly complete that it is highly improbable there will be many new discoveries in the future.

All, therefore, that now remains to be done is to utilise the stores of information, which have been so laboriously brought together, for the purpose of classifying the monuments, and showing the relation they bear to those of other geographical areas. It is hoped that by doing so a sufficiently intelligent interest will be aroused in the early Christian monuments of Glamorganshire to ensure their effectual preservation from wanton injury, weathering, or destruction.

A photographic survey of the stones has already been set on foot, chiefly owing to the exertions of Mr. John

<sup>1</sup> Edward Williams was born at Penon, in the parish of Llancarvan, on the 10th of March (Old Style) A.D. 1746, and died on the 18th of December 1826. He was a stonemason by trade, and an enthusiastic antiquary. He is buried in Flemingstone Church, near Cowbridge, Glamorganshire.

Ballinger, of the Cardiff Public Free Library, and of Mr. T. Mansell Franklen, Clerk of the Peace for the County. These interesting remains are thus rendered easily accessible to the general public for purposes of study, and the paper upon the series of photographic views recently read before the Cardiff Naturalists' Society by Mr. T. H. Thomas, R.C.A., forms an admirable introduction.

The County Councils should endeavour to become the guardians of the national monuments of Wales, so that the operation of the destructive agencies which threaten to overwhelm them may be brought to a standstill before it is too late.

Perhaps the simplest way of placing the facts before you will be to arrange the monuments in classes, describe a typical example of each class, mentioning where others of the same kind occur, and conclude with any general deductions that are to be made.

The early Christian monuments of Glamorganshire may be classified as follows :—

#### FIRST PERIOD (A.D. 400 to 700).

*Monuments without Ornament.*—(a) Inscribed in debased Latin capitals; (b) inscribed in Ogams; (c) inscribed in both Latin capitals and Ogams; (d) uninscribed, but having crosses incised.

#### SECOND PERIOD (A.D. 700 to 1000).

*Monuments with Celtic Ornament.*—(a) Inscribed in minuscules; (b) uninscribed.

*Monuments without Ornament, but having crosses in relief, or incised.*—(a) Inscribed in minuscules; (b) uninscribed.

The monuments belonging to the first period are rude pillar-stones, without dressing of any kind; those of the second period consist of—(a) Upright cross-slabs; (b) wheel crosses; (c) crosses; (d) recumbent coped stones.

As a typical example of a monument without ornament, inscribed in debased Latin capitals, the BODVOC stone on Margam Mountain may be taken. It is an unhewn pillar sandstone, 5 ft. high by 1 ft. 6 in. broad, by 1 ft. thick. The inscription is in four vertical lines, and reads :



BODVOC- HIC IACIT  
 FILIVS CVTOTIGIRNI  
 PRONEPVS ETERNVLI  
 VEDOMVV-

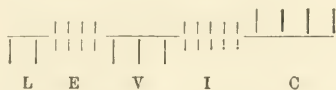
On the nearly horizontal face of the top of the pillar is an incised cross, having equal arms with expanded ends.

The stone is obviously a sepulchral one put up to commemorate Bodvoc, the son of Cototigirn and *pronepos* of Eternalis Vedomavus. The cross, which there is no reason to believe was added subsequently, clearly shows the stone to be Christian.

Six other monuments of this class exist in Glamorgan-shire—at Capel Brithdir, The Gnoll, near Neath, Llan-iltarn, Llanmadoc, Merthyr Mawr, and Port Talbot.

None of these, however, have a cross upon them. The one at Port Talbot deserves special notice, as it is on the back of a Roman military stone of the Emperor Maximinus, which formerly stood by the side of the military road from Bovium to Nidum.

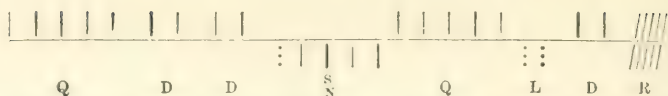
The only example of a monument without ornament, inscribed in Ogams, but not in Latin capitals, stands on the lawn of the rectory garden at Loughor. It is a Roman altar, having on one of the angles the following rather doubtful name in Ogams :



There is only a single instance, also, of a monument without ornament, inscribed both in Ogams and in debased Latin capitals. This is by the side of the road between Kenfig and Margam. It is an approximately rectangular pillar of sandstone, 4 ft. 6 in. high, by 1 ft. 3 in. wide, by 1 ft. 9 in. thick. The Latin inscription is on the narrower face, in two vertical lines, and reads :

PVNPEIVS  
 CARANTORIVS

The Ogams are on the right angle, and their meaning is somewhat obscure. They appear to read from the bottom upwards,—



Uninscribed pillar-stones with incised crosses only seem to be rare in Glamorganshire. Professor Westwood figures one in the grounds of Court Herbert, near Neath Abbey, but it would be difficult to fix its age with any degree of certainty.

We now come to the highly-ornamented monuments of the period after A.D. 700, and before the Norman Conquest. The peculiarities of what is variously called Irish, Celtic, Hiberno-Saxon, and sometimes wrongly Runic, ornament have been described elsewhere. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to say that interlaced work and key-patterns form the basis of this species of decoration. In Wales the spiral work, foliage, and zoomorphic ornament, which are common in Ireland and Scotland, are hardly ever seen.

The minuscule or small letters, which are universally used on the stones of this period, are merely modified from the capital letters, so as to be more suitable for being rapidly drawn with a pen, and are the direct forerunners of the small letters used in printed type of the present day. The only reasons why the appearance of the ancient minuscule writing strikes the eye as being so different from the ordinary small printed letters of to-day are because no capitals are introduced at the commencement of a sentence, or as the initial of a proper name; because some of the letters which now extend above the line then extended below it; and because there are one or two archaic forms of letters which have since fallen into disuse.

There are so many fine specimens of highly-ornamented monuments inscribed in minuscules in Glamorganshire that it is somewhat difficult to make a selection of one to stand as a representative of the whole class. Perhaps, however, the cross of Enniaun at Margam is as suitable as any other, for the purpose we have in view, of explaining the leading characteristics of these monuments.

For want of a better name, the term "wheel-cross" has been used to describe the particular shape of the Enniaun stone, and here, perhaps, a few words respecting the relations the different shapes bear to each other,



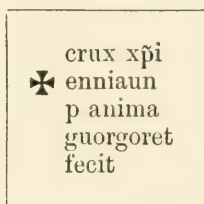
CROSS OF ENNIAUN AT MARGAM.  
From a Photograph by T. M. Franklen, Esq.





when taken in order of development, may not be out of place. The steps by which the more elaborate forms of crosses were evolved appears to be as follows. First we have the upright cross-slab, consisting of a rectangular stone, with a cross enclosed in a circle carved upon one of the broad faces, near the top; next, a rectangular slab, having the two upper corners rounded off to suit the outline of the circular cross; then the wheel-cross, in which the shaft is differentiated from the head by making its breadth less than the diameter of the circular head; and, lastly, the four-holed cross, in which the ends of the arms are made to project beyond the ring, and the hollows between the arms pierced right through the slab.

The cross of Enniaun at Margam is a little over 6 ft. high; the diameter of the circular head is 2 ft. 4 in.; the width of the shaft 2 ft. at the top, and 3 ft. 2 in. at the bottom. The whole of the front face is ornamented with interlaced work and key-patterns, and at the bottom, towards the left side, is a panel containing the following inscription in minuscules, in five horizontal lines—



“(This) cross of Christ ✠ Enniaun made for the soul of Guorgoret.”

The monument is therefore either sepulchral or commemorative, and erected by Enniaun for the benefit of the soul of Guorgoret.

Enniaun is the ancient form of the not uncommon Welsh name Eynon. Possibly the person here mentioned may be Eynon, son of Oweyn, and grandson of Howel Dda, who devastated Gower in A.D. 969 and 977, and was killed in A.D. 982.<sup>1</sup>

The name Guorgoret, or Guagorit, occurs in *The Life of St. Cadoc*, together with that of Samson,<sup>2</sup> Abbot of the

<sup>1</sup> *Annales Cambriæ*, Rolls edition.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the Samson of the Llantwit crosses.

altar of Illtyd, as witness to a grant of the village of Conguoret to the Abbot of St. Cadoc.<sup>1</sup>

Other monuments with Celtic ornament and minuscule inscriptions occur at the following places in Glamorganshire :—

*Upright Cross-Slabs*.—Baglan (cross of Brancuf), Margam (cross of Ilquici); Margam (cross of Ilci), and Nun-nery Farm.

*Wheel-Crosses*.—Llantwit Major (cross of Samson, Samuel, and Ebisar), Llantwit Major (cross of Houelt, son of Res), Margam (cross of Conbelin), and Margam (cross of Eunniaun).

*Four-holed Crosses*.—Coychurch (cross of Ebisar) and Merthyr Mawr.

*Cross-Shafts*.—Coychurch, Llandough (cross of Irbic), Llantwit Major (cross of Samson, Juthabel, and Artmal), and Merthyr Mawr (cross of Conbelanus).

*Recumbent Coped Stone*.—Newcastle, near Bridgend.

One of the best instances of a monument with Celtic ornament, but uninscribed, is the cylindrical pillar at Llantwit Major. It is a sandstone monolith, 7 ft. 6 in. high, 1 ft. 6 in. in diameter at the bottom, and 1 ft. 2 in. at the top. A groove of V-shaped section runs vertically down the back. The ornament consists of three panels of broken plaitwork, and one at the base containing a rude chevron pattern.

Other stones of this class, but of different shapes, occur at the following places :

*Cross-Slabs*.—Margam and Merthyr Mawr.

*Wheel Crosses*.—Margam; The Gnoll; Llangan; and Mount Gellyonen.

*Cross-Shafts*.—Llantwit Major and Penyrallt.

*Cross-Base*.—Llangevelach.

We lastly come to the monuments which have crosses, or minuscule inscriptions, but no ornament. The following examples occur in Glamorganshire :

*Unornamented Stones with Incised Crosses (inscribed)*.—Merthyr Tydfil (stone of Artbeu), Court Isaf (pillar of Tome).

*Unornamented Stones with Crosses in Relief (inscribed)*.

<sup>1</sup> Rees' *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 384.

—Bryn Keffneithan (cross of Gaic), Margam (cross of Grutne).

*Stones with Crosses only (incised).*—Port Talbot.

*Stones with Crosses only (in relief.)*—Port Talbot.

In conclusion, I propose to state as concisely as possible the results arrived at from the survey of the early Christian monuments of Glamorganshire we have now made.

Looking first at the geographical distribution of the stones, it will be noticed that they are found exclusively in southern parts of the county near the coast, and that in the mountainous districts occupying the northern half of the county they are entirely absent. The area of the rude pillar-stones of the earlier period corresponds very nearly with that of the highly-decorated crosses of the later period.

Comparing the relative numbers of the stones of the different classes which occur in Glamorganshire with those in other counties of Wales, some most instructive facts are revealed. As regards the number of monuments with Ogam or debased Latin inscriptions, possessed by Glamorganshire, it falls behind both of the neighbouring counties of Carmarthen and Pembroke; but in the crosses with Celtic ornament and minuscule inscriptions it is richer than the whole of the rest of the Principality put together.

It is, therefore, hardly possible to escape from the deduction that the monuments of the earlier period originated in the west (*i.e.*, in Pembrokeshire or Ireland), and spread eastwards to Glamorgan; whereas those of the later period had their beginning in Glamorgan, and the art was subsequently carried westwards.

By far the most remarkable feature in the Glamorgan-shire crosses is that the large proportion of them are inscribed—a thing that may well excite the national pride of Welshmen, as, except at Clonmacnois in Ireland, no such group of lettered monuments of this early date exist in Great Britain.

Whilst the grey lichen-covered stones of Scotland and most parts of England and Wales maintain an everlasting silence as to their past history, the crosses of Llantwit and Margam speak to us with no uncertain voice across

the thousand years that have elapsed since Juthael was King in Gwent, since Enniaun ravaged Gower, and Samson was Abbot of the altar of St. Illtyd.

Is it too much to expect that we, to whom the guardianship of such priceless possessions has been entrusted, should do our best to hand them down unharmed to posterity by making them national property, and placing them under the control of Government?

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## A BRIEF HISTORY OF ST. FAGAN'S, GLAMORGANSHIRE.

BY REV. WILLIAM DAVID, M.A., RECTOR.

(*Read at the Cardiff Congress, 1892.*)

I HAVE found it to be impossible to comprise satisfactorily even an epitome of the history of St. Fagan's in a paper which can be read within the twenty minutes to which I am limited. I propose, therefore, reading as much of my manuscript as I can in the time allotted me. I have divided my subject under the following six headings, in chronological order: The Patron Saint, The Church, The Norman Castle, The present Manor House, called St. Fagan's Castle, The Visit of Charles I, The Battle of St. Fagan's.

*The Patron Saint.*—The following particulars of the patron saint I have chiefly gained from Professor Rice Rees's valuable *Essay on the Welsh Saints*. He derived his information from two independent sources, our national chronicles, the Welsh Triads, and the Venerable Saxon Bede, whose statement was supported by Schelstrate, Prefect of the Vatican Library, by whom a confirmation of it was found in a catalogue of the Popes, written 200 years before Bede's time. A British chieftain or king, Lleurwg, called by the Latins Lucius, who was the great-grandson of Caractacus, and who is said by an archæologist who wrote his life—the Rev. D. Henry—to have lived at Rhydclaver, now a farmhouse, in the upper part of St. Fagan's parish, sent towards the close of the second century to Eleuthery, then Bishop of Rome, an urgent appeal for missionaries to come and “baptise himself and his people”. In 180, Eleuthery sent four men—Dyfan, commemorated in Merthyr or Martyr Dovan, a parish four miles south of St. Fagan's; Medwy, preserved in Trefedwy (Anglicised Medwyton), a place near Newton Nottage in this county, but long ago lost by the encroachment of the sea; and Elfan and Fagan. As no churches, either in England or Wales, were dedicated to the memory of these pioneers of the Gospel into Britain except those in this neigh-



bourhood, we may reasonably infer from that evidence alone that they settled in the woodlands of this fertile vale, and, under the protection and patronage of the enlightened Lleurwg, confined their labours to his domains, making them, it is to be hoped, a Christian oasis in the surrounding pagan desert. Lord Bute having informed me that the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Coire in Switzerland is dedicated to the memory of St. Lucius, I visited it some years ago, when the Bishop of Coire told me that St. Lucius abdicated his throne in Britain and came to Switzerland as a missionary to the heathen, by whom he was stoned to death when preaching. The spot where he was martyred was shown to me, as well as some of his bones preserved in a glass case in the cathedral. Welsh and Saxon authorities, however, traverse this account of him, and agree in stating that he was buried in Gloucester in 201. Enderbie, himself a Roman Catholic, in his *Cambria Triumphans*, published in 1661, after carefully balancing the evidence, concludes that he was buried in Gloucester, and that some other St. Lucius must have been martyred at Coire.

In one of the Chronicles of Caradoc of Lancarvan, who died A.D. 1150, or a little later, is the following: "In 154, baptism was first introduced into Britain, and churches and bishops were instituted through the endowments of Lucius and Pope Eleutherius."

In an ancient Welsh MS., containing a list of the genealogies of the British Saints, which was copied about the year 1670, and which Professor Rees pronounces one of the most interesting Welsh records, the sixth entry is as follows: "Saint Fagan, who came the same time as Dyvan to Britain, having been deputed by Pope Eleutherius, at the request of St. Lucius, to confer baptism on the nation of the Cymry. His church is St. Fagan's in Gwent." The name Gwent appears to have been applied to a district coinciding with that represented by the Latin name Siluria. In another old record, copied in 1783 by our most enthusiastic and indefatigable antiquary, Edward Williams (*Iolo Morganwg*), is this entry: "Saint Fagan was Bishop in Llansanfagan, and there is his church." In another list of the Welsh Saints, copied by Iolo from the book of Mr. Cob of Cardiff, St. Fagan is re-

ferred to thus: "Saint Fagan (Faganus), a man from Italy, who came as a Bishop into Wales, sent by the Pope Eleutherius to the Church of Llansanfagans." The patron saint of my parish is again referred to in the Iolo MSS., where a list is given of the Colleges of Saints: "The College of Fagan in Llansanfagan, and Fagan was Principal." In a subsequent list of the names of those who founded churches in Glamorgan, the fifth mentioned is Fagan, who founded Llanfagan Vawr (great), near Llandaff, and Llanfagan Vach (little), called now Llanvaes, near Llantwit Major.

In the face of all this concordant evidence, which is quite compatible with well-authenticated history, it is hard to be incredulous; still, the monks of old were famed for their aptitude in harmonising their chronicles with their partisan predilections. This, combined with modern researches, has caused many to reject altogether Bede's account of Fagan's coming into Britain at the invitation of Lucius. Assuming, however, the truth of the more recent records, just presented to you, that he first administered the sacrament of baptism in Britain, and that he settled and established a college or religious seminary at St. Fagan's, we have greater grounds than can be claimed in favour of any other locality for suggesting the probability of some hallowed spot in the precincts of St. Fagan's village being invested with the unutterable interest of having witnessed the reception into the Church of the first converts in these realms. If this reasonable deduction is a fact of unwritten history, those of you who visit St. Fagan's to-morrow may felicitate yourselves on having performed a pious pilgrimage to the cradle of Christianity in these "Islands of the West". Very probably, the primitive structure, perhaps of watling or of logs, in which the good St. Fagan taught his catechumens, stood in the sheltered, attractive dingle called the Cwm, which now forms part of the pleasure-grounds in the rear of the castle. On that spot, more than a thousand years afterwards, was erected an ecclesiastical edifice, of which little is known, except what was learnt from its foundations, which were unearthed nearly twenty years ago, under the supervision of Lord Windsor's mother, the late Lady Mary Windsor-Clive, and the late

Mr. John Pritchard, then our diocesan architect. The latter confidently pronounced the foundations to be those of a religious house of some character. The base of a square tower, with thick battering masonry, indicated unmistakably the character of its superstructure. Leland, who visited St. Fagan's, refers to a chapel attached to this institution in these words: "The Paroch Chirch of St. Fagan is now of our Lady; but there is yet by the village a Chapelle of St. Fagan sumtime the Paroch Chirch." The present parish church was originally Norman, and, we learn from Leland, is dedicated to St. Mary. It appears, therefore, that, prior to its erection in the twelfth century, the chapel referred to was the original British parish church dedicated, as Leland states, to St. Fagan. At the beginning of this century the west gable of this ancient edifice, pierced with a rude lancet window, was still standing. In 1858, a parishioner, then 80 years of age, told me that he had assisted in taking down the crumbling ruins of the venerable fane. In excavating for garden purposes a wide trench a few feet deep on its site, the workmen came upon a rough stone sarcophagus, covered with a massive stone lid. All that was left of the decomposed corpse was a pulpy mass at the bottom; but there was standing in it a small earthen vessel of rough make, with a long rectangular stone, its four sides being quite smooth. The roughness of this sarcophagus, the total disintegration of the bones as well as flesh of the corpse, the earthen vase, and the smooth-sided stone, which probably once bore an inscription, tend to show that this sepulchre, hewn out of a rock, was of the greatest antiquity, and that laid in it was the body of someone held in high honour. Who can tell whether the pulp found in that primeval cist was not composed of the dust of the first Principal of the college—the venerable Fagan himself? Alas! it was in vain that I made every effort at the time to trace out any of these relics, linking the present with so remote a past. About twenty years ago, when some old garden walls standing there, which, doubtless, had been built with the sacred stones of the old church, were taken down, I found several of the stones had been carefully shaped for more influential positions than they had occupied in the garden walls.



One, about 2 ft. square and 9 in. deep, had evidently been either the base or capital of a pillar, as on one face of it projected, in bold relief, a roughly-chiselled round moulding 18 or 20 in. in diameter.

*St. Fagan's Church.*—Until 1860 it consisted of a south porch containing stone seats, nave, chancel, and tower. The walls of the nave and chancel are chiefly Norman. Embedded in the masonry above the present segmental pointed doorway is the arch of the original Norman entrance, and in the north and south walls of the chancel are preserved the arches of two Norman windows, facing each other. In the Decorated period the Norman chancel arch was replaced by a lofty one, so remarkably pointed as to always attract observation. The chancel was lengthened to an extent clearly marked by the junction of the ashlar masonry with the rubble work composing the older Norman walls, and five beautiful, decorated windows, also three extremely pretty sedilia, with an adjoining fenestilla, containing a piscina and stone credence-shelf, were placed in the chancel. It has a cradled roof, the woodwork of which is well moulded, and is further ornamented with bosses at the points of intersection of the purlins. On the north side of the altar is an aumbrey, and in the south wall of the chancel, near its arch, is a little arched niche, puzzling as to its use, owing to its position. A large Perpendicular window with three lights stands south of the nave; its west jamb intersects the Norman arch of the original window, and, projecting from the top of its east jamb, is a curiously-formed bracket of neatly-carved stone for supporting the rood-loft. The chief portion of a stoup remains near the doorway. Above the doorway outside is a niche. The tower, which stands west of the nave, bears its own date, 1750. In the centre merlon of the embattled parapet facing the west, a large stone is embedded, on which is carved in bold relief a lion rampant. Above the entrance to the porch is a sundial, dated 1622. In 1860, a large north aisle was added to the nave, when, in removing the accumulated coats of white-wash off the old walls, the Lord's Prayer was found in black-letter on the south of the chancel arch, and the Apostles' Creed on the north.

*The Norman Castle.*—Sir Peter le Sore, one of the

twelve knights who accompanied Fitzhamon into Glamorganshire in 1091, was assigned the manor of Peterston-super-Ely, with the manor of St. Fagan's. He lived at Peterston; hence the name. A Norman family, perhaps related to him, named de Vele, from Tortworth in Gloucestershire, a branch of which had also settled at Charfield in Gloucestershire, came to St. Fagan's as a tenant of the lordship. Robert de Vele appears to have been the first to come, which he did in 1299. In 1320, H. Ligon de Vele was lord of St. Fagan's, who was succeeded in this position by some generations of his posterity. The last of them who occupied the Castle was Sir Peter de Vele. He married Hawise, the third and youngest daughter of Sir Matthew, the last of the le Sores, who was sheriff of this county in 1347. Owen Glyndwr, after laying siege to his Castle, eventually took it, and then celebrated his achievement by taking the poor knight's head off. Sir Peter de Vele, through his wife, who inherited the Castle and manor of St. Fagan's, became their absolute owner on the unhappy death of his father-in-law. By the Reports preserved in the Record Office, relating to the feudal rights of the King for the time being, and of the Earls of Gloucester as lords of Glamorgan, in the consolidated manors of St. Fagan's and Lysworney, it appears that by 1377 Sir Peter had abandoned St. Fagan's to live with his relations at Charfield, doubtless in safer surroundings from the despoiled and implacable Welsh than was afforded him by the ward wall, though stout and high, of his Glamorgan residence. The last mention made of the *Castle* in conjunction with the manor of St. Fagan's in these Reports, which continue down to 1603, is one dated 1412. This proves that, though Glyndwr destroyed Peterston and St. George's Castles on one side, and the Bishop's Palace, with the Archdeacon's house at Llandaff on the other, he must have spared St. Fagan's Castle, as he left this county ten years prior to the date of that Report. Probably he did not think it worth his time to demolish it, seeing that it contained no hated Norman for him to decapitate, but perhaps only a poor Welsh vassal as a caretaker. The Reports referred to show that the de Veles retained possession of the manors of St. Fagan and Lysworney for at least 100



years after the family had withdrawn from this county, as in 1475 it is recorded that Robert Vele, Esq., of Charfield, left a daughter Alice sole heiress of St. Fagan's and Tortworth. She returned to her native neighbourhood by marrying David, or Sir David Matthew of Radyr, an important manor, having one of the few deer parks of that period, two miles north-east of St. Fagan's. Alice died in 1504, leaving four daughters co-heiresses, all of whom married and left this county. When Leland visited St. Fagan's about 1535 he found the Castle partly in ruins. He thus notes :—"The Castelle of St. Fagan standith on a little hille, and a part of it yet standith. It was about a 60 yeare ago in the hands of one Davy Matthew, and then it came by heirs General to divers Copartioners. Beynon of the Forest of Dean hath a part of it." The property in 1578 was sold to a John Gwyn Gibbon, LL.D., a descendant of Sir Gilbert Payn of Pentrepayn, now Pentrebane, a farmhouse a little to the north of St. Fagan's village. He built the present manor house, called St. Fagan's Castle, on the site of the old Norman keep, and, except on the north side, within its outer wall, which is still standing. His grandson, Morgan Gibbon, sold it to William Herbert of the White Friars, Cardiff, who in 1616 again sold it to Sir Edward Lewis of the Van, an ancestor of Lord Windsor. When St. Fagan's Church was restored and enlarged in 1860, large slabs, if I recollect rightly, of slate were found underneath the old Castle pew, bearing inscriptions to members of the Gibbon family.

The most interesting object connected with the present building is a large leaden tank, a few years ago mounted on a stone pedestal in the centre of the walled enclosure fronting the entrance to the Castle. It is round, and measures 20 ft. in circumference by 3 ft. 8 in. in height. It has been pronounced, on good authority, to be "one of the largest and most beautifully executed specimens of ornamental lead-casting to be found anywhere". A panel on one side of it contains the royal arms, with the date 1620; and another, on the opposite side, the arms of Sir Edward Lewis.

The walls of the dining hall and of some of the other rooms are still lined with the old oak wainscoting. The

ceilings of the drawing-room and of the room above it are ornamented with an elaborately designed geometrical moulding. But the most interesting feature in the building is a fine oak mantelpiece in the drawing-room, which reaches to the ceiling. In its centre is a shield bearing twenty-five quarterings of the arms of the Lewis family. This interesting heraldic relic would possibly have been lost but for a Cardiff archæologist, a Dr. Reece, who took charge of it about fifty years ago or upwards, before the Castle had been occupied by any of the Clive family. When Lord Windsor's father came, after his marriage, to reside at St. Fagan's, it was supposed (much to his vexation) that the central ornament of the mantelpiece had been stolen or destroyed, until Dr. Reece, to Mr. Clive's great gratification, produced this remarkable shield in excellent preservation.

*Charles I's Visit to St. Fagan's.*—On the 29th of July 1645, Charles I, who was then a guest of Sir Philip Morgan of Ruperra Castle, attended by the Duke of Richmond, Earl of Lindsay, High Chamberlain, Earl of Lichfield, Lord Kernwagh, and his regiment of body-guards, came from Ruperra to Cardiff Castle, where he dined with the Governor, Sir Timothy Tyrrell, and in the afternoon proceeded to St. Fagan's, to meet there, by previous appointment, the men of Glamorgan. Great must have been his alarm to find, awaiting his arrival, the gentlemen of the county, in a body, on horseback, with the commonalty to the number of 4,000 (or, according to another account, 5,000), drawn up in battle-array, winged with horse, and having a reserve.

A consciousness of the King's weakness, and of their own strength, emboldened them to make their complaints to his Majesty fearlessly. They demanded in a contumelious manner, as a condition of their taking up arms for him, that the Papists should be driven out of the country, that the Governor and garrison of Cardiff should be replaced by their own men, and that £7,000 arrears demanded by Sir Charles Gerard, Major-General of the King's forces in South Wales, should be relinquished. "The King", it is stated, "answered fair, and said they should have all reasonable contentment." Thereupon one of the countrymen, as stated by a historian of the Par-

liamentary cause then present, boldly declared to the King his distrust of his Majesty's promise, citing former breaches of faith as his warranty. The King then withdrew for the night; but the negotiations were continued for two days more at Cefn On, the mountain to be seen direct north of Cardiff, when terms which are well known were agreed upon, satisfactory to both parties.

Richard Symonds, who was in the King's body-guard, attended his Majesty to St. Fagan's. He was an archæologist, and a good one too, for in his movements with the King he kept a sharp look-out for every object of interest, and noted it down in a neatly written diary now to be seen in the British Museum. He evidently had a greater love of heraldry, genealogy, and kindred subjects, than of blood-shedding. He availed himself of the opportunity, while his Sovereign was parleying with his refractory subjects, to visit the church to see what he could there see, and describes a coat of arms, in the chancel window, of the Clare family. He gives also a sketch of the arms of the Lewis family, and describes a far-famed spring in the Castle grounds in these words: "In the orchard of this howse, under an old ewe-tree, is a spring or well, within the rock, called St. Faggin's Well. Many resort from all parts to drink it for the falling sickness (epilepsy), and cure them at all seasons. Many come a year after they have drunk of it, and relate their cure ever since." The spring is still there, but its pure, sparkling water, which gushes from beneath the rock into a pellucid little pool, has either lost its healing virtues, or this faithless generation has lost all belief in the efficacy.

*The Battle of St. Fagan's.*—Want of time compels me to make a cursory reference only to the Battle of St. Fagan's. This, however, I regret the less as the particulars are so generally known. The battle was fought a little to the north-west of the village, on May 8th, 1648, between 8,000 raw, ill-armed Welsh royalists, under the command of Major-General Laughan, Col. Rice Powell, and Major-General Stradling of St. Donat's Castle, and 3,000 Parliamentarians, well trained and experienced fighting-men, under the chief command of Captain Horton, who was supported by Col. Okey.



Both sides were hastening to seize St. Fagan's as an advantageous base for the former to attack, and the latter to cover Cardiff, then held by Col. Prichard of Llancaiach for the Parliament. Horton, who had marched from Brecon, forestalled the Royalists by a few hours only, as they had reached St. Nicholas, about three miles west of St. Fagan's, when he entered the village to find in it none but women and children, as the men had joined the Royalist army.

Finding that Horton had gained possession of St. Fagan's, the Welsh withdrew to Fonmon; but seeing that they were not followed, they determined to march at once to St. Fagan's, with the view of disposing of Horton before the arrival of Cromwell, who was hastening to support him, and had already reached Monmouth.

As early as seven o'clock in the morning of Monday the 8th of May they were drawn out in order of battle, in an advantageous position about half a mile from the village. Horton at once gave them battle, and after a terrible slaughter of two hours' duration completely routed them. He took 2,000 prisoners, including many officers, and his cavalry mercilessly cut down all they could overtake of the remainder in a pursuit of some miles. That fell two hours' carnage left seven hundred widows in this county, and sixty-five in St. Fagan's alone. These, it is said, were obliged to reap the corn the ensuing summer, so divested was the neighbourhood of male labour.

Parliament deemed the victory of St. Fagan's of so much consequence that they appointed the Wednesday of the following week as a day of national thanksgiving, and they ordered one Master William Bridge of Yarmouth to preach the sermon before them that day at St. Margaret's, Westminster. Parliament subsequently thanked him for the great pains he took in the sermon, and ordered him to print it. I possess a copy.

The following are some local traditions and particulars I have gleaned of the battle. The glebe field at the back of my house is called "Cae Meirch", or Horses' Field, owing to Horton's cavalry horses having been kept together in it the night before the battle.

The Welsh, it is said, had not seen cannon before that

battle. Some small balls, about seven pounds in weight, have been ploughed up in the battlefield.

A few years before I came to St. Fagan's, a farmer, who loved straight furrows more than archæology, removed from about his fields large stones which marked the spots where some men of distinction had fallen and were buried.

An intelligent old parishioner informed me that he had been told by a farmer who died in 1842, aged eighty-nine, that when he came as a young man to the Stockland Farm, on which the battle was mainly fought, he had occasion, in removing a hedge, to cut down a large hollow trunk of an oak-tree. When it fell to the ground he found, to his surprise, it was full of rusty swords and muskets and other small-arms. My informant, when a boy, was leading horses engaged in ploughing on the field of battle, when something impeded the progress of the plough. On examination it was found to be one of the two-pronged pikes, with a socket for receiving the shaft, with which the country blacksmiths had armed many of the Royalists.

On the outskirts of the battlefield is a tumulus 25 or 30 ft. in diameter. On cutting a trench to the centre of it I found remains of a cremation,—a thick layer of charcoal intermingled with half-charred bones. As it would be most difficult to dig graves there, owing to rock being so near the surface of the ground, the bodies of those slain in that part of the battlefield may have been burnt and then covered with a mound of earth.

There is a story told, and very generally believed in the neighbourhood, of a farmer (recently deceased) who, on taking the Stockland Farm, was obliged to borrow money to stock it. A few months after he came into residence he not only repaid the sum borrowed, but was found afterwards to have a good supply of cash. The explanation given is that the farmer found in the concealed foot of a stocking a large hoard of gold, which is supposed to have been placed there by some one prior to the battle, who was killed in it.



## EXCAVATIONS AT TALLEY ABBEY.

BY STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS, ESQ., F.S.A.

*(Read at the Cardiff Congress, 1892.)*

ON the main road from Llandeilo to Lampeter, about seven miles from the former place, stands the village of Talley, situated in a narrow valley on the watershed of two small streams, one flowing into the Cothie, northwards, and the other southwards into the Towy.

In the churchyard are the ruins of what is left above ground of the church of the Abbey of Talley, consisting of two arches of the central tower and a fragment of the wall of the north transept. The eastern face of the tower remains fairly complete to its summit, and on its northern side it rises above the water-table of the north transept roof. A portion of the internal walls of the presbytery could also be traced; but with these exceptions nothing more was to be seen before the excavations were commenced.

At the recent meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association I read a paper descriptive of the ruins, and my friend Mr. Edward Owen also contributed an account of so much as is at present known of the history of the Abbey. Mr. Edward Owen said "that of none of the Welsh religious foundations of the Middle Ages had there been preserved a clear and connected history, or the graphic chronicles that imparted human interest to the story of several English houses." "Talley was more than usually unfortunate, the only published documents relating to it being those contained in the last edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon*. Even the religious Order to which it had belonged had been a subject of dispute. Dugdale thought it had been a Benedictine house, and his latest editors had not troubled to inquire into the point for themselves. A Cambridge MS. styled it Cistercian. Leland thought it had belonged to the Præmonstratensian Order, an opinion in which Bishop Tanner concurred. It would now be settled for good that Talley was "Præ-

monstratensian from its foundation (with a slight intermission) to its fall." I cannot say that I entirely agree with Mr. Owen upon this point.

"Of its founder, of the date when its inmates were introduced into Carmarthenshire, or the Abbey buildings commenced, no fresh documentary evidence could be adduced. It had been conjectured, and, no doubt, rightly, that it was founded by Prince Rhys ab Gruffudd, who received the title of Justiciar of South Wales from Henry II, and who died in 1196 or 1197. He was the founder of Strata Florida, and a large benefactor to Whitland, both Cistercian abbeys.

This was the popular monastic Order in Wales, and they might have been recommended to the Princes of Wales, not alone because of their religious austerity, but also for their devotion to agricultural pursuits. The Præmonstratensian Order, an offshoot from that of the Augustinian Canons, was introduced into England in 1143.

The Austin Canons were distinguished from the monks in being in Holy Orders, and in being attached to particular churches. The naves of all their churches were parochial. The monks were originally no more than laymen, bound by vows spontaneously assumed; but when the appropriation of parochial churches commenced, it became customary for some of them to take priest's orders; and at a still later period it was usual for all monks to become priests.

The Præmonstratensians resembled the Cistercians in their love for solitary places, and in their attention to agriculture. Talley occupied a typical Cistercian site, the arrangement of its buildings being more after the regular Cistercian plan than was usual with Præmonstratensian houses. Their early foundations always comprised separate houses for men and women; and though it was not possible to show that canonesses had ever lived at Talley, the likelihood of such a thing was greatly strengthened by the reference in early Welsh genealogies to an abbess of Talley.

It was unfortunate that Giraldus Cambrensis did not mention Talley in his account of his journey through Wales with Archbishop Baldwin in 1187, and he (Mr. Owen) thought it showed that Talley was not then in

existence. It must, however, have been established before Giraldus' death, which took place in 1223, because in his last written work, *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, he gave an interesting account of the high-handed proceedings of the Abbot of Whitland against a "poor house of Canons of the Præmonstratensian Order", culminating in their forcible ejection and the seizure of their house by the Cistercians. The Canons appealed to Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards to the Pope, and eventually regained their possessions. Now Hubert died in 1205, and as he (Mr. Owen) considered the house could not have been founded before 1190, it brought the exact date of that foundation within narrow limits, and also showed that the Cistercians had not remained long in possession.

In 1208 they came upon the first express mention of Talley, in which year King John confirmed to it a grant of lands in the modern parish of Llanegwad. In 1215 the Abbot, Gervase or Iorwerth, was elected Bishop of St. David's. He was probably the Abbot during the troubles with the Cistercians.

In 1291 the income of the house was £8:16:6 per ann. (about £230 of our money), compared with over £2,600 for Strata Florida, and nearly £1,200 for Whitland.

The Abbey fared badly during the struggles that terminated with the complete conquest of Wales in 1282, and in the 13th of Edward I it was placed under the "paternal jurisdiction" of Welbeck, the chief of the English Præmonstratensian houses. In 1332 it obtained several important gifts in the parishes of Llansadwrn, Llansawyl, Cynwil Caio, and the Grange of Cerrig Cennen; but its chief wealth lay in the tithes, or in the sums produced by their ferm of the many churches which had been appropriated to the Abbey. Of these, the church of Llandeilo was the most important; and several small chapels were also mentioned in the *Inspeximus* Charter published by Dugdale, which seemed to have been abandoned before the Abbey itself was dissolved.

There was at the Record Office a petition of Rhys ab Meredydd ab Rhys Gryg, who was executed in 1291 as a rebel, asserting that his father, the founder of the



Abbey, had always received the homage of the Abbot ; but that the King's bailiffs of Dynevor had diverted the suits done by the Abbot from the said Rhys, for which he prayed justice. This claim of the founder could only have meant that Meredydd ab Rhys was of the founder's family, and was the patron of the house.

The Canons of Talley no doubt suffered from the economic disturbances produced by the "Black Death".

In 1382 Richard II issued a commission to inquire into the losses sustained by the Abbey, the restoration of its property, and the repair of its buildings. This commission was renewed in 1392.

Notwithstanding the lawlessness of the times the Canons clung to their property, and in 1429 obtained a confirmation of the charter of Edward III. It had been stated that the Abbot of Talley was the chief instrument in determining the adherence of Sir Rhys ap Thomas to the cause of Henry of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII."

The above brief synopsis of Mr. Owen's excellent paper gives all the documentary evidence of the history of Talley Abbey at present known ; but it is hoped that further researches may bring to light other documents which may illustrate more fully the annals of one of the most important of the Welsh monasteries.

Until the year 1772 the Abbey church, or some part of it, was used as the parish church of Talley ; but being found too large for the purpose, and having become much dilapidated, the parishioners took down the greater portion of the building, and with the materials erected the present church, which stands on the north side of the site of the Monastery. The demolition of the Abbey church resulted in the entire structure falling into decay, and, as in nearly every similar case, it became a quarry from whence the neighbouring buildings were erected. Wherever there was a piece of freestone, in buttress, angle, pier, or arch, there the crowbar was at work wrenching it away ; and gradually, piece by piece, the entire fabric, with the exceptions already mentioned, disappeared, and all that remained was a mass of crumbling *débris* overgrown with brambles and trees, whilst some portions of the structure had been levelled, and forms a part of the existing churchyard.

It was early in February last that the Vicar of Talley, the Rev. J. H. Lloyd, and the two churchwardens, Sir James Drummond of Edwinsford, and D. Long Price, Esq., of Talley House, invited the writer of this paper to inspect the site of the Abbey, and advise as to its excavation. Great credit is due to these gentlemen for having taken the initiative in the exploration of the ruins.

We commenced operations by exploring some portions of the Abbey church, which, with a part of the cloister-garth, is nearly all within the area of the churchyard, in this respect resembling Strata Florida. Nearly the whole of the conventual buildings are outside the churchyard; and the site of these being occupied by a modern farmhouse and homestead, they have entirely disappeared.

We first of all traced the line of the north transept, and found that from 3 to 8 ft. in height of the walls still remained covered over with the fallen *débris* of the building. Subsequent excavations revealed that in the north transept there were three chapels, and it is probable that there were the same number in the south transept. The internal and external walls of the north transept have been all cleared down to floor-level, and so far as regards this portion of the building the excavation is complete.

The results obtained by the excavation of the north transept are most interesting and encouraging. In each of the chapels have been found the bases of altars, and portions of the original tile-pavements of plain red, blue, and buff glazed tiles. The foot-pace in front of the altars has had the tiles laid diagonally to the lines of the building, the remainder of the floors of the chapels being laid in parallel lines to the north and south walls. The whole of the north transept has apparently been similarly paved, but the tiles have all been removed.

In the north-east angle of the north transept we discovered a newel-staircase, which was the approach to the ringing-loft of the tower and to the triforium. The nave was lighted by clerestory windows. A similar staircase in the larger chapel apparently led to a chamber over. In this chapel we found the splay of the east window, and a recess with a pointed freestone arch, probably used as an aumbry; and there is an opening into the presbytery, which has been subsequently blocked up.



The lengthening of this chapel, and the insertion of the staircase, is apparently a later addition, the eastern wall not being bonded into the north wall of the presbytery.

Against the western wall of the north transept is a mass of masonry which looks like the base of an altar-tomb, and the two smaller wing-walls north and south of it may have carried some portion of the canopy. If not for this purpose, it is somewhat difficult to say what else it was intended for.

In tracing the external face of the east wall of the presbytery, the angle-buttresses were found, with boldly splayed bases, the splay being continuous round the external walls of this portion of the church. We also found the foundations of two buttresses dividing the east window into a triplet. It had probably narrow lancet-lights and a roll-moulding round the jambs and arches. Several fragments of this moulding were found among the *débris*.

A detached building with a doorway from the exterior, abutting on the south wall of the presbytery, has been traced externally, but at present we cannot say if it communicates with the presbytery.

The south wall of the south transept has been traced so far as is shown in black on the plan, and sufficient indications to prove that there are probably three chapels in this transept.

All the chapels had plain, semicircular barrel-vaults, the spring of which, and some portion of the vaulting, are still remaining in both chapels adjoining the presbytery.

The whole of the face of the south wall of the south aisle has been excavated. The doorway opening into the eastern walk of the cloister has been found. It was blocked up when the Abbey was used as the parish church of Talley, at which time the doorway opening into the centre of the south aisle was apparently cut through, and the first four bays of the Abbey church, together with the space below the tower, formed the nave of the parish church. At the same time the whole of the eastern arch of the tower was blocked up with a thin wall, a chancel-arch built therein, with a window over, and the

small chancel erected within the presbytery, as shown upon the plan.

Continuing our excavations westward, we were fortunate enough to discover the south-western angle of the Abbey church, and the face of the buttress of the respond of the south arcade. The excavations have not yet been carried far enough to determine the position of the west doorway, or the north-west angle of the north aisle; and it is somewhat doubtful whether the north aisle was ever built. That it was a part of the original plan there can be no doubt, as there is still in existence, against the west wall of the north transept, the water-table of the lean-to roof and the projecting bond-stones of the north wall.

The excavations in the nave have been confined to tracing four of the piers of the north arcade; and it is found that the dimensions of the church, as determined by the length of the nave, give an arcade of eight arches. These piers stand about 6 ft. above the floor-level, being cut off just below the turf of the churchyard. The nave, therefore, when excavated, will have its arcade-piers and walls standing from 6 to 8 ft. high.

Between the piers of the north arcade is a thinner wall, which I am inclined to think was the screen-wall dividing the north aisle from the nave. At present we do not know if a similar wall exists in the south arcade. At Tintern such a wall exists, and it was also found at Strata Florida enclosing the choir of the *conversi*. Assuming that the north aisle was never built, this, in that case, was the external north wall of the church. Until the excavation of the whole of the west front and nave is completed, it is impossible to give an opinion upon this point.

The traces of foundations on the line of the north wall of the north aisle are also somewhat puzzling. Where the set-off is shown they are apparently the external wall of some building with a splayed base, but are in such a fragmentary condition that it is not possible to say whether they may not be the remains of some earlier building which stood upon the site before the commencement of the erection of the church of Talley Abbey.

It will be interesting to compare the dimensions of the

church of Talley with that at Strata Florida, and we find that—

	Total Length.	Length of Nave.	Breadth of Nave and Aisles.	Length of Transepts including Centre Tower.	Breadth of Tran- septs.	Square of Lan- tern of Tower.	Length of Pres- bytery.
Strata Florida Abbey	213 0 ..	132 6 ..	61 0 ..	117 3 ..	28 0 ..	28 0 ..	48 4
Talley Abbey	226 3 ..	143 0 ..	62 6 ..	112 3 ..	29 0 ..	29 0 ..	44 9

The nave-arcades at Strata Florida consisted of seven arches ; at Talley there appears to have been eight.



Talley Abbey.

Although the dimensions of Talley Abbey are, with the exception of the length of the transepts from north to south, and of the presbytery from east to west, in excess of those at Strata Florida, we have a complete absence of the magnificent transitional architecture, the lovely carving, the elaborate and beautiful tile-pavements,



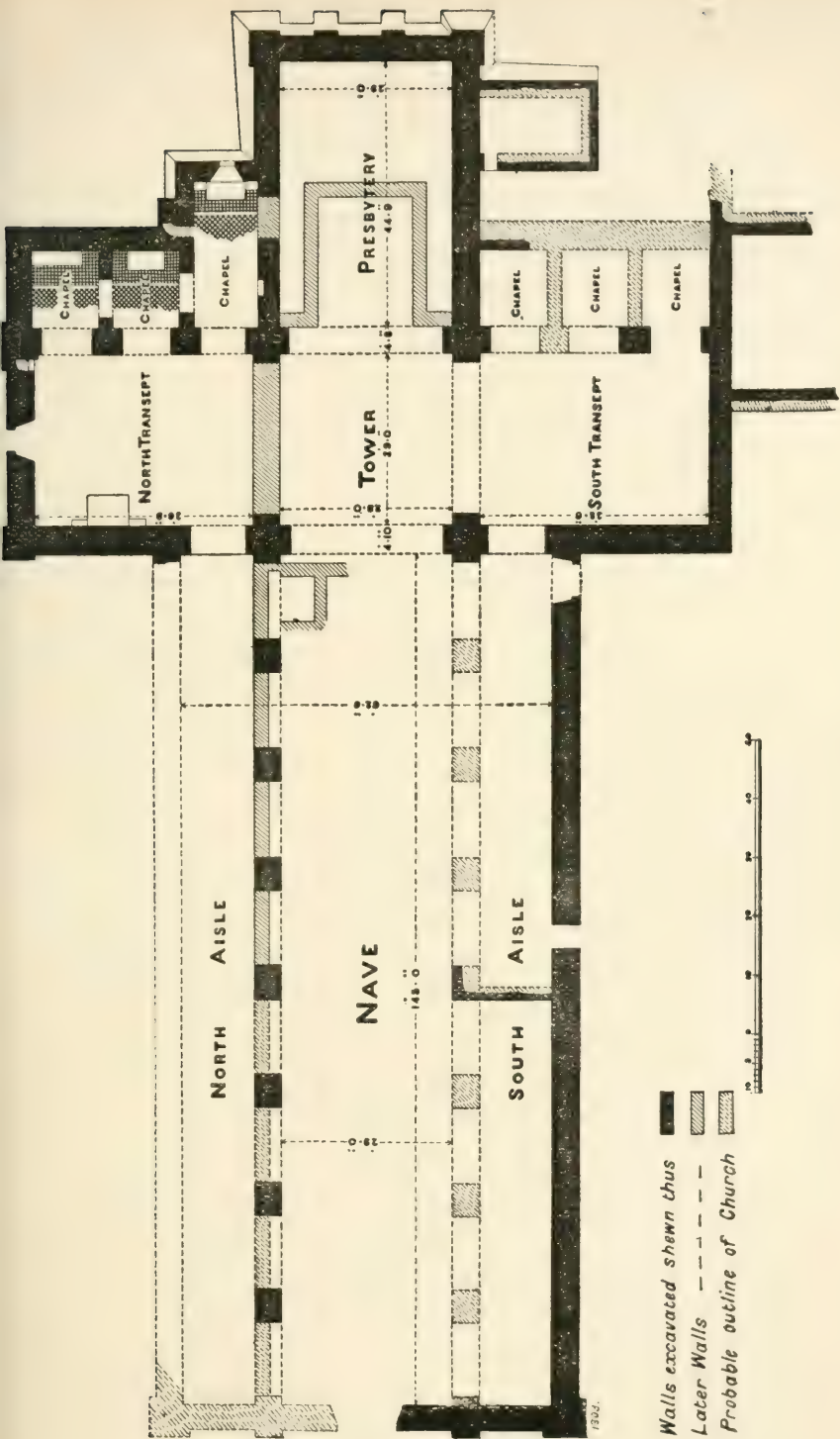
and the great variety of variously coloured freestone which distinguished the work at Strata Florida, and instead thereof we have plain, square piers and simple, pointed arches of rough rubble-masonry of the plainest possible character; and so far, not a fragment of carved work has turned up. The pavements are plain, glazed tiles of the commonest character; and only two specimens have yet been found of somewhat rude, incised tiles.

The only moulded, freestone work at present discovered are the angles of the north-eastern pier of the tower, which for a height of some 15 or 20 ft. from the base has a plain, three-quarter round moulding, stopped just above a plain, chamfered base of early transitional character. The east window of the presbytery appears also to have had a similar moulding carried round its external angles.

Some fragments of stained glass found during the excavations prove that the windows were glazed with painted glass, and the walls appear to have been plastered throughout, and decorated in colour.

Therefore, although Talley possessed one of the largest monastic churches in Wales, it was evidently of the plainest and most simple type of architecture; and its plain, pointed arches must have resembled those in the churches of Llandewi Brefi and Llanbadarn Fawr, in Cardiganshire, in their massiveness and simple severity of outline.

In the present early stage of the excavations it would be premature to draw conclusions from the results already obtained, but I would particularly wish to point out that the church was evidently designed upon the ordinary Cistercian plan; that whoever were the first builders, they commenced with the intention of building a church of more ornamental character than they were able to complete, as appears from the work in the lower part of the north-western pier of the tower, and in the quoins of the east end of the presbytery, which were all of finely dressed freestone. Evidently, as the work proceeded, funds did not come in as fast as was expected, and they were compelled to be satisfied with the local stone, abandon the use of freestone, dispense with the services of the freestone mason, and be content to complete their church with local materials, and possibly local labour.



Walls excavated shewn thus

Later Walls

Probable outline of Church



I would, therefore, venture to suggest the possibility that the first builders were the Cistercians, who for some reasons abandoned the work ; then came the Præmonstratensians, who completed it, and somewhat altered the Cistercian plan ; and after that the Cistercians may have endeavoured to resume possession about 1190 and 1200, as mentioned in Mr. Owen's paper, but were defeated in their object by the Præmonstratensians, who remained in possession until the Dissolution.



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## MERCHANTS' MARKS.

BY CECIL T. DAVIS.

(Read 18th May 1892.)

MERCHANTS' marks have interested many, and there is on record that in 1825 Mr. Samuel Woodward read a paper on the subject before the Society of Antiquaries. He intended to publish an account of the seventy he had collected; but the work, so far as I know, never was printed; his MSS. were in the hands of Mr. Hudson Gurney in 1860. In 1839 Mr. Charles Frost prepared a paper on merchants' marks, which he read before the Hull Literary and Philosophical Society, and was printed in *The Hull Packet*, 22 Nov. 1839. Mr. J. J. Howard wrote to *Notes and Queries*, and stated that he had possession of Mr. Frost's collection. In 1850 Mr. W. C. Ewing read a paper entitled "Notices of the Norwich Merchant-Marks" before the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, which is printed in vol. iii of their *Original Papers*; he stated that he had consulted the Woodward MSS. mentioned above. In 1887 Mr. J. G. Waller exhibited fifty-one rubbings, of which forty-seven had a cross for a foundation, before the Society of Antiquaries. About the same time, and possibly earlier in the year, Mr. H. K. S. J. Saunderson read a paper called "Some Remarks upon Merchants' Marks in Connection with Monumental Brasses", before the Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors. It appeared in their *Transactions* of February, and the list of marks, with a page of illustrations, in the September Number of the same year, 1888.

This does not claim, by any means, to be an exhaustive list of papers on Merchants' Marks, for I have not included that interesting plate facing p. 384, and the accompanying letterpress, in vol. xxxvii of the *Archæologia*. Moreover, many illustrations and allusions are scattered up and down the pages of the *Archæological Journal*, though in our *Journal* these do not so often appear. The various works on monumental brasses have been searched, and some marks are therein figured.

We all know, and have laughed at, the anecdote of "Bill Stumps his mark", so inimitably told by "Our Mutual Friend" Dickens; but I wish to direct your attention to the marks used by the merchants in "y<sup>e</sup> olden time'. About 1394 an unknown writer issued a poem in alliterative verse, which he called *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*. He so termed it as Langland's *Piers the Ploughman* was then very popular. From the *Crede* the following well known lines are taken:

"Wide windows y-wrought; y-written full thick,  
Shining with shapen shields to shewen about,  
With marks of merchants y-meddled between,  
Mo than twenty and two twice y-numbered,  
There is none herald that hath swiche a roll."

(*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1839, ii, 632.)

That most interesting subject, masons' marks, falls not within my province, nor do I intend to include those mercantile emblems illustrative of crafts or trades. I need scarcely remind such a Society as this of that famous graveyard now called the *Howff* of Dundee, where may be seen the scissors on the tomb of a tailor, the loom or shuttle on that of a weaver, and the compasses and square on that of a mason, etc. Jervise, in his *Memorials of Angus*, writes, "Although these marks are to be seen in different parts of the country, perhaps no single place contains so many and such oddly designed specimens as the *Howff* of Dundee."

Quite unwillingly I am compelled to omit a variety of well known marks, as, for example, bell-marks, hall-marks, pewter-marks, pottery-marks, printers' marks, rebuses, sheep-marks, swan-marks, and those house-marks (relics of olden time) still to be found on the continent of Europe.

Here I should like to digress a little from my subject, and merely mention that the charges on some of the Polish shields much resemble the marks now under consideration. It was asserted by Michelsen, in his *Samm-lung Altdithmarscher Rechtsquellen* (1842), that the arms of Pope Hadrian VI, a Netherlander, were formed of house-marks.

I also show a sheet containing the marks appended to an ordinance for marking barrels, 7 Hen. V (1420), and preserved by the Coopers' Company.

We must not overlook the fact that reading and writing were practically unknown among any but what are still euphoniously termed the "educated" classes; but every one, even the most dense dullard, would recognise the mark. At the present time many things are known by the marks upon them. The advantage then, as well as now, of a mark is that it may be understood at a glance. You may have noticed recently in the papers that in France an engineer has devised a plan by which every railway carriage shall be so marked that a passenger can easily recognise the carriage in which he is travelling, and not, as now, have to remember a number often consisting of several figures.

I merely wish to direct your attention to those lineal figures of various and quaint designs, in right or even bent lines, which are known as Merchants' Marks. Favyn, in *Le Théâtre d'Honneur* (published at Paris in 1623), mentions the "marks or notes of trades and professions which were used"; and "merchants (for their honour) were allowed to bear the first letters of their names and surnames interlaced with a cross" in lieu of arms.

Marks were recognised at an early date by Act of Parliament, *e.g.*, in the two statutes of uncertain date, one of which may be 51 Henry III (1266), or 13 Edward I (1285), and the other, 14 Edward I (1286). In the former it is enacted that "every baker shall have a mark (*signum*) of his own for each sort of bread"; and the latter, speaking of "bondsmen", stipulates "each shall have a seal" (*e ke checun eyt seal*). The former custom may be noted in the *Old Usages of Worcester* (fourteenth century), when it was required that "euerych bakere habbe hys seal y-knowe vpon hys loff". In 37 Edward III, c. vii (1363), every master goldsmith "shall have a mark by himself" (*un merche a par lui*). Various other Acts could be cited, but these will suffice, though attention may be directed to a judgment delivered in 22 Eliz., when Mr. Justice Doddridge stated:—

"An action was brought upon the case in Common Pleas, by a clothier, that whereas he had gained reputation by the making of his cloth, by reason whereof he had great utterance, to his great benefit and profit; and that he used to set his mark to his cloth, whereby it should be known to be his cloth; and another clothier



perceiving it, used the same mark to his ill made cloth, on purpose to deceive, and it was resolved that an action did well lie."

An event which not unfrequently happens now; for the law deals severely with those who infringe on the trade-marks of others.

Again, in 25 Eliz., a jury at Seaford, Sussex, presented John Camber "for markyng of thre ducks of Edwd. Warwikes, & two ducks of Symon Brighte, with his owne marke, & cutting out their markes."

I am not prepared to endorse the opinion which some hold, that these merchants' marks had no more signification than the trade-marks registered at the present time, though these not unseldom have an allusion to the goods they identify. The question as to whether they were intended to avert the "evil eye" hardly falls within my scope, though the oft recurrence of a cross in some shape or other would tempt one to attribute to these marks a protective influence. It is very convenient to say that symbols imperfectly understood are intended to avert the evil eye.

As to the origin of these merchants' marks authorities differ. As I have just said, in early days the art of writing was practically unknown to ordinary people, and the result was that to documents the signatories had to affix their marks. These marks or signs were very arbitrary, and it has been suggested that in some instances the sign or mark was stamped. In an early number of the *Edinburgh Review* is an illustration of the mark which Gundisalvo Tellez affixed to a charter dated 840. Twenty-seven years after his widow, Flamula, granted the town of Pedrenales to the Abbot and monks of Cardena for the good of her husband's soul; and the sign, which she made with her own hand ("manu propria signum impressi") is the same as that which was made by Gundisalvo. It might interest those who are trying to trace the origin of printing, as to whether the term *impressi* had in the ninth century the same meaning, "printed", as it now possesses; for the widow, Flamula, evidently inherited and used the same stamp as Gundisalvo had "impressed" on the charter of 840. Other examples could be quoted, and one is tempted to inquire whether the so-called inventors of printing only resuscitated and





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17.



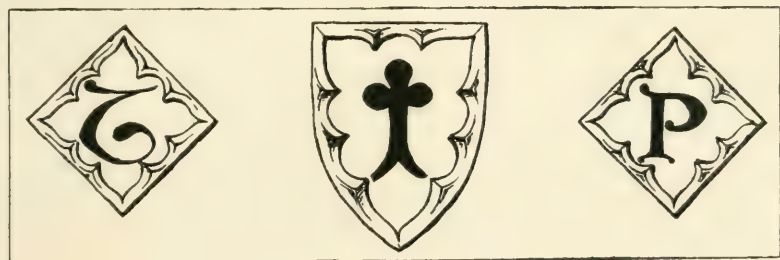
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19.



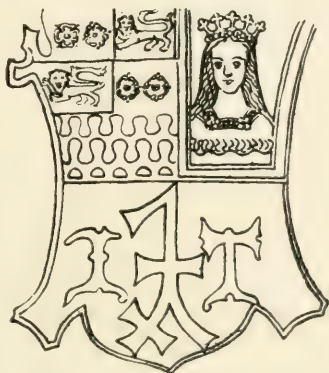
20.



21.



22.



23.



24.





improved the art of their Gothic ancestors. But I must not wander too far, though I should like to call your attention to the marks on various old charters; and of a later date,<sup>1</sup> to a page in the churchwardens' account books of Wandsworth, where the parishioners in vestry assembled "sette their markes" to show that they approved of the agreement then and there recited.

In the town chest at Seaford is a document referring to lands known as the "Salts and Beame Lands". The last sentence runs thus:

"And for the confirmation and truth of this matter wee, whose names are underwritten, *have subscribed our markes*, and will be deposed hereuppon, yf we shall at any time hereafter be lawfullie called."

Many other instances could be adduced similar to the foregoing, where the mark was recognised to bind a man as effectually as the signature did.

I should also just like to notice the thumb or finger-mark of the artisan, to which Lord Rosebery feelingly alluded at a Public Library meeting at Battersea. Speaking of the thumb-mark reminds one of the derivation of the Latin word *polliceor* (I promise), from *pollex*, a thumb, as the thumb was placed on the paper when a promise<sup>2</sup> was made; and, again, of the method used by the Chinese for recognising criminals, by taking an impression of the thumb.

Of such importance were these marks considered, and at an early date too, that we find on the same memorial both the arms of the deceased and his merchant's mark. From this I am inclined to think that the mark was very much underrated in the following sentence taken from the Harl. MSS., "Theys be none armys but a marke as merchants use, for every name may take hyme a marke, but not armys without an herawde or purcyvaunte"; for even those who had the right to bear arms did not consider their mark of inferior importance. In the county of Gloucester, as well as elsewhere, several instances of this occur. Take, for example, that well-known brass at Chipping Campden, William Grevel, "*flos mercatorum lanarum tocius Angliæ*", 1401, and his wife

<sup>1</sup> 25 May 1578.

<sup>2</sup> A finger is now placed on the seal when any deed has to be delivered to another.

Marion, 1386. Their effigies are under a double canopy. In the pediment of each is his merchant's mark (1), whilst between the finials and pinnacles are four shields with the following arms: *Sable*, on a cross engrailed *or*, five pellets within a bordure engrailed of the second; a mullet of the second in the dexter quarter for difference.

In 1882 I rubbed the detached portions of the brass to John Barstaple (1411) and his wife Isabella. In *Bristol Past and Present* is a sketch of the brass when *in situ*, and under the feet of the husband was his mark (2), and under those of his wife her arms, though not in a lozenge.

Turn to the tomb of William Canynge (1474) in St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, whereon are found sculptured both his arms and his mark.

In St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, is the brass of John Jay (c. 1480) and his wife Joan. Over the husband, and beneath the daughters, are shields charged with a fuller's bat (so Haines suggests); and above the wife, and below the sons, are shields with his merchant's mark (7).

On the brass of Thomas Bushe, at Northleach (1526), is his mark (12), also the arms of the Merchants of the Staple of Calais. It often happened that arms of a company appeared on the same memorial as a merchant's mark, and sometimes were even on the same shield.

No. 23 is from the brass of John Perry and wife, 1524. St. John, Maddermarket, Norwich.

On a grant of four acres in "Fynsburie field juxta Bonhill", dated March 25, 1583, is the signature of Sir William Alleyn, Lord Mayor in 1571. On the seal appears his mark, though he was entitled to bear coat-armour.

On the oak mantelpiece in Sir John Spender's house in Canonbury was carved his mark, whilst his coat of arms occurs in other places in the same building.

Such examples as I have just quoted might be easily multiplied.

The mark was sometimes impaled with a personal coat of arms, or formed part of the charge of a shield. You may remember the well-known example of John Halle of Salisbury. The seal of Bartholomew Elys of Great Yarmouth (17 Rich. II) has the family arms with the substitution of his merchant's mark for the cinquefoil in base.

At the time when the Goth affixed the quaint mark as his signature, it was the custom of the Roman empe-

ror to draw a monogram, and of the Saxon churl to put a cross, and to this I am inclined to attribute the origin of the merchant's mark used by the woolmen of the Cotteswold Hills and of other parts of England. Some may press the matter more closely by connecting the "wool" with the *Agnus Dei*, and suggest that the streamers from the shaft derive their origin from the small flag borne by the "Lamb" when symbolical of Our Lord. As St. John Baptist was the patron Saint of woolmerchants, it would be a fitting device to use his staff as a symbol of putting the goods under his care.<sup>1</sup>

In the Ewing Collection<sup>2</sup> it may be noticed that the same mark was often used by one family, but differenced, as in heraldry, for the different members of the same. The marks of the Peacock family, at Coggleshall, afford a good example. (Nos. 19, 20, 21.)

The older merchants' marks may be roughly divided into three classes,—1, those that have a cross (generally a Latin cross) as a principal element; 2, those with a figure resembling the Arabic numeral 4 turned backwards or forwards; 3, a monogram compounded of the initials of the owner.

*Class I.*—As examples I show the fourteen merchants' marks now remaining on the monumental brasses in the county of Gloucester. They are as follow :—

1401, William Grevel, Chipping Campden. His mark consists of a cross with streamers attached to the shaft, rising from the centre of a globe in the middle of a shield, the head of the cross and streamers being above the same; a line extends from the upper sinister corner through the centre of the globe, and terminates in the lower dexter corner. (1.)

1411, John Barstaple, Trinity Church, Bristol. A cross with streamers from the stem, which passes through a globe, and terminates in another cross. (2.)

<sup>1</sup> "In these marks", says the late Rev. Edward Duke, "I cannot but say that I recognise a figurative meaning. I cannot divest my mind of the idea that the pious merchant here means to designate that his mercantile transactions are entered into with honest integrity, that he trades beneath the cross, that he is enlisted under the banner of his Saviour, that he enters on his commercial dealings with the good faith of the Christian." (*Prolusiones Historiæ*, i, 82.)

<sup>2</sup> The sheets of marks illustrating Mr. Ewing's paper were handed round.



1440, Robert Page, Cirencester. A cross with streamers standing on a lozenge containing the letter R in old English. (3.)

1442, Reginald Spyker, Cirencester. A cross with streamers passing through a globe, and the foot of stem has a long horizontal line cutting it. His initials, R. S., on either side. (4.)

1458, John Fortey, Northleach. At each corner of the slab, and in the middle of the inscription on the two longer sides, were his marks. These consisted of a cross standing on a woolpack. From the upper part of the stem a streamer is flying, whilst the lower part is ornamented. The initials of John Fortey, I. F., are placed on either side. These are surrounded by a small wreath formed of two ivy-stems artistically intertwined, in the interstices of which alternately are placed an ivy-leaf and a bunch of ivy-berries seven times repeated. (5.)

1478, Thomas Rowley, St. John's, Bristol. A Maltese cross with a streamer from its summit. The cross-bar seems to be the Arabic numeral 2; and on the lower part of the stem are T. R., his initials. (6.)

c. 1480, John Jay, St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol. A shield is above the wife, between the gable and the outer pinnacle; the same is repeated below the sons. This shield contains a merchant's mark, which consists of a cross with two short legs, and a streamer flying from the shaft. At the bottom of the shaft extends a cross each way, horizontally. The legs and crosses pass through a small circle, of which the end of the shaft forms the centre. (7.)

c. 1485, woolmerchant, Northleach. A cross, from the stem of which streamers are flying, standing on an inverted, old-fashioned W. (8.)

c. 1490, John Taylour, Northleach. In the centre of the bottom of the brass is represented a sheep, head to left, standing on a wool-pack; between its fore and hind feet is John Taylour's mark, viz., two shepherd's crooks thus placed,—one vertically turned to the left; the other, crossing it horizontally, turned to the right; a crook lies in front of the wool-pack. (16.)

1497, John Benet, Cirencester. A cross without streamers, with knops on each end, and on the stem of the Latin cross a St. Andrew's cross also with knops. (9.)

c. 1510, John Twynghow, Lechlade. Only the matrix remains; his mark was very like a patriarchal cross. (10.)

1519, Edward Halyday, Minchinhampton. The merchant's mark is engraved on a disk, and consists of a double cross on a *mundus*, with E. H. on the sides. (11.)

1521, Walter Hickman, Kempsford. A Tau-cross whose base is thickened into a triangle. The headless or Tau-cross (T) is the Rune *tyr*, i.e., God.

1526, Thomas Bushe, Northleach. Beneath the figures, and above the fillet bearing the inscription, are the matrices of two groups of children; and between is a brass plate on which is his merchant's mark, a Latin cross standing on XX, and T. B. on either side. (12.)

No. 14 is John Stokes, c. 1450; and No. 15 is John Pergett, 1484; both in Chipping Norton Church.

*Class II.*—This figure 4 is thought by some to be the symbol of the Trinity, by others as emblematical of trading in the four quarters of the globe (is not this rather far-fetched?), whilst Mr. B. Williams says "its import is most obscure". Dr. Hanus, in an article on "Sclavonic Runes", suggests that it is merely the *resch* of the Phœnician alphabet. Prof. Michelsen traces this mark to pre-historic times, for he found a good example, rudely cut, on a slab in a tumulus of the stone period in South Ditmarsh, between the rivers Elbe and Eider. It may be likened to a ship's mast and a yard athwart, though I am unable to see that it represents a ship fully rigged.

No. 24 is the mark of Thomas Pownder and wife, 1525, Quay Church, Ipswich. This class often occurs on tokens.



With this class may be included modifications of the headless cross, as No. 18 (St. John, Maddermarket, Norwich) and No. 22 (Aylsham, Norfolk).

*Class III.*—The monograms do not call for much comment.

No. 13 is Andrew Evyngar, 1535, All Hallows, Barking; and No. 17 is from the Quay Church, Ipswich,—Augustus Parker, 1590.

In 1465 a statute was made to ascertain the length and breadth of bales of cloth, all of which were to be sealed with leaden seals. (1,2.) Specimens are occasionally



1. From the Thames.

2. East Hill, Wandsworth.

dredged up in the Thames. By some these were thought to be similar to the *plombs* used by the Custom House officers. These are so fixed that the package, or even the door or lid of a box, could not be opened without breaking the seal or cutting the string. In the English Post-Office wax is used instead.

To "rings" I am indebted for some interesting impressions of marks.<sup>1</sup> But longingly, yet very reluctantly, I have had to turn from one of the best sources of which I know, and that is the MS. Department of our great National Library. Therein, I doubt not, could be found many a merchant's mark impressed on seals, with the signature of the owner, and possibly a short description of him may appear in the document. Many of the seals now shown could, doubtless, be identified from those appended to deeds still extant. The *Inquisitiones post mortem*, from Henry VII to Charles II, abound with these marks.

Possibly these discursive remarks of mine may prove of some service to the student of the Middle Ages, and I trust that the original possessors of many of those marks now unknown will be identified. It is too much to hope for a catalogue of them to be made, though those interested in the subject could well follow Mr. Ewing's plan of taking one town, or even one county, and exhaustively work it as far as concerns those interesting symbols known as *merchants' marks*.

[I beg to express my indebtedness to many friends for the illustrations shown when this paper was read.]

<sup>1</sup> Twenty-nine wax impressions from rings were shown.

# British Archaeological Association.

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## Proceedings of the Congress.

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MONDAY, 22ND AUGUST 1892.

THE forty-ninth Congress of this Association was opened at Cardiff on Monday, 22nd August.

Several members of the British Archæological Association had attended divine service at St. John's Church on Sunday morning, when Rev. Canon Thompson, the Vicar, preached from the words, "Can these bones live?" (Ezek. xxxvii, 3.) In the course of his sermon the Canon spoke of the advantages and aims and study of archæology. He said it meant the study of the life and history of men and women of the past, and referred to the district to which the Association had come as being rich beyond most others in its possession of the treasures of antiquity. Chepstow, Raglan, Tintern, Margam, Caer Gwent, Worlerby, and St. Nicholas, were successive pages in a wonderful history which he who runs may read. The main interest of the study of archæology was twofold. First, it was intensely human, and next it was a witness to the permanence of human hope. Earth is not the charnel-house, but the garner-house and treasury of seeds of life. To the undiscerning it may seem with ruins, ruined peoples, ruined places, ruined lives, and ruined hopes; but to the pure in vision and in faith these are but the putting off of the earthly tabernacle for a house not made with hands, but the noiseless, gradual uprearing of a city which has foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God. So if we read the records of human time by the light of the Divine Word, their testimony will be one, not of death, but of life; not of oblivion, but of hope.

On Monday, Aug. 22, 1892, the members and visitors visited Llantrithyd, where Mr. Mansel Franklen described the ruined "Place" or Mansion-House, and exhibited views taken in 1846. Mr. S. W. Williams, F.S.A., conducted the party round the ruins, and read the following notes:—

*"Llantrithyd Place.*—Contiguous to and on the west side of the churchyard are the ruins of Llantrithyd Place, at one time the seat successively of the Bassetts, Mansells, and Aubreys, whose designation,

when created Baronets in 1660, was taken from this estate. It was in the days of its pristine splendour a fine example of the dwelling-place of the wealthy Welsh squires who flourished during the reign of the house of Tudor.

"Its plan resembles the letter **m**, consisting of a body and two wings, forming three sides of a court, with the porch near the centre. The wings are single, as is the body; that is, occupied by rooms extending across their breadth, and therefore opening the one from the other; but behind, or east of the body, is a projection containing the staircase and dining-room, and on the first floor a withdrawing-room. There was a porch of two stories, the door beneath which opened direct into the entrance-hall.

"The projecting wings have been lengthened since the first erection of the house; the break in the masonry can be plainly seen. The central portion of the house is apparently the oldest; and, as at Beaupré, its owners have from time to time made large additions and alterations."

"Mr. Mansell Franklen exhibited drawings made fifty years ago by Mrs. Traherne of Coeddriglan, which showed that at that period the house was in fairly perfect condition; the roof still remaining, and much of the interior fittings and decoration intact. Within the last half century the hand of the spoiler has been busy, and now there are but scant remains of the once noble house of Llantrithyd."<sup>1</sup>

The party then proceeded to the church, where Mr. Williams continued his notes on

*"Llantrithyd Church.*—This church is said to be dedicated to St. Iltud. It consists of a tower, nave, south porch, and chancel. The tower is square, rather lofty, very plain, and having a parapet-wall projecting on corbels, is probably of the thirteenth century. It has a west door of good Perpendicular work, but no window below the belfry. There is an exterior stair on the south side, which led to the nave-gallery (now removed), and is a later addition. The nave has a south door with plain drop-arch chamfered. On the right is a mural water-stoup, probably Norman. On the right of the door in the south wall are two windows of two lights each, with cinquefoiled heads; middle of fourteenth century. On the left is an older lancet-window, trefoiled. The windows in the north wall are modern. The arch into the tower is Perpendicular; that into the chancel equilateral, and of Decorated date. The chancel-screen is of late Tudor work, and in good condition. There is a Jacobean pulpit, and the altar-rail in the chancel is of the same date.

"In the north wall are the door and staircase to the rood-loft. The

<sup>1</sup> For a much fuller description of Llantrithyd Place, with plan, see *Arch. Camb.*, vol. xiii, 3rd Series, pp. 225-29.

beam of the loft was removed about forty-five years ago. Also a low-drop, sepulchral arch, under which is a small recumbent effigy, rudely carved (and evidently of local workmanship), of a civilian in a long robe; the feet, which are covered with acutely pointed shoes, resting on a greyhound. It lies upon a low altar, on the edge of which is a ball-flower moulding, and probably dates about the end of the fourteenth century.

"On the south side of the chancel-arch is a small, trefoiled lancet-niche, probably a shrine.

"The chancel bears date 1656, and was, no doubt, wholly rebuilt at that time.

"There are several monuments. The principal is a large altar-tomb, set against the north wall, with a heavy mural appendage bearing arms and inscriptions, erected in 1597 by Elizabeth Mansell, and commemorates her father and mother, John Bassett and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Andrew Morton, of the city of Bristol. On the lower portion of the monument rest the recumbent effigies of Elizabeth Bassett and her husband, Anthony Mansell. He is in armour. Around are the children, in high relief, kneeling. Upon the monument is the mortuary helmet of Anthony Mansell, part of the achievement of arms borne at his funeral. This helmet is a fine specimen of a late sixteenth century helmet, and may have been a portion of the armour worn by Anthony Mansell. It still retains some of the rivets inside, for fastening the buff-leather lining. Mr. Mansell Franklen, of St. Hilary, has provided an iron bracket for this helmet, upon which it will be placed in the future. There is a similar helmet in St. Donat's Church. These are the only two helmets in churches left in Glamorganshire, and probably in South Wales. In North Wales there is one in Llanidloes Church, and another in Llandegai Church, Carnarvonshire, on the tomb of Archbishop Williams."

There is a very fine monument to John Bassett and his wife Elizabeth, erected to their memory in 1597 by their daughter Elizabeth, who married Sir Anthony Mansel. At this church a helmet was exhibited which gave rise to some difference of opinion. Mr. Williams believes it to be the actual war helmet used by Sir Anthony; but Colonel George Lambert, F.S.A., judging from the lightness of its fabric, maintains that it was an undertaker's helmet simply intended for show, and made use of at the funeral, according to the custom of those times. Mr. Seward pointed out some peculiar classic treatment in the details of the Jacobean carving of the tomb. The church plate is of the time of Queen Elizabeth and George I.

The party then drove to Cowbridge, and inspected the tower of the church, and the ancient gateway and fragment of the town wall, which were pointed out to the party by Mr. Franklen.



Upon this church Mr. Williams read the following notes:—"The embattled tower of this church appears to have been built for defensive purposes, and is probably of 13th century date. The plan of the church comprises a nave, choir under the central tower, an aisle with an arcade of five arches, extending the whole length of the south wall of the nave and choir, apparently the latest addition to the church in the Perpendicular period. The chancel has on its north side a large chantry or guild chapel of early Perpendicular work. There is a mural monument on south wall to William Carne of Nash, 1626."

The Town Walls (according to Mr. Williams), are fairly complete on the south side, where one of the gateways is still standing. The town was an appanage of the Castle of St. Quintin, and the existing remains probably date from the latter half of the 12th century; they no doubt stand upon the foundations of the Roman walls, as Cowbridge was probably a Roman station of importance. Relics of the Roman period have lately been discovered in the town in making excavations for building purposes.

After luncheon at Cowbridge, the party proceeded to St. Quintin's Castle. The gateway is fortified after the Edwardian manner with loopholes on either side for four crossbow-men, an arrangement which is found also at Carnarvon. The arrangements for the portcullises here are peculiar, and the grooves in which the supposed counterpoises worked are plainly visible. The date of this gateway is about 1310.

Mr. Williams read the following notes on St. Quintin's Castle:—"The name of the castle is of comparatively modern origin, for in an inquisition *post mortem*, made on the death of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and Lord of Glamorgan, who was killed at Bannockburn in 1314, this fortress is called Talevan Castle. Most of the fortifications have been destroyed, with the exception of the main gateway, which is flanked by two towers in fairly perfect condition, and is in all its architectural details absolutely like the gateway of Carreg Cennen Castle in Carmarthenshire; it dates from the early Edwardian period of castle building, and was designed by one of the great military architects employed in that period in building castles in South Wales, whose work can readily be identified in the details of arches, windows, and loopholes."

The party then proceeded to Llanfihangel, and here Mr. Williams pointed out the chimney-piece of the mansion, date about 1550, ornamented with carved coats-of-arms of successive owners. The mansion is believed to have 14th century work in the foundations. It is almost the only house in this neighbourhood which has been inhabited without interruption for so long a period. The present owner, Lord Dunraven, has carefully maintained this interesting

mediæval fortified house in good condition. The church-tower close by is furnished with narrow slits for archers. Here the old font, the base stones of a churchyard cross, and the quaint effigy now in the churchyard, but formerly in the church, attracted attention.

Mr. Williams said of Llanfihangel House:—"This is a most interesting specimen of an old Welsh manor house, which has been most judiciously restored by the owner, Lord Dunraven, and kept in admirable condition by the tenant, Mr. William Jenkins. Much of the building is of the 16th century, but in the lower part there are fragments of much earlier work, dating back to the 13th or 14th century. It contains a mantel-piece erected in 1550 by John Thomas, then Sheriff of Glamorgan, with six coats of arms, which was described by Mr. Iltyd Nicholl, F.S.A. (For this see *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Series, vol. v, p. 408.) There are some fine Jacobean ceilings and panelling in the house."

A short halt was made at Flemingstone, and the interesting porch at Old Beaupré was pointed out with much detail of description by Mr. Seward and Mr. Brock.

Of Flemingstone Court and Church, Mr. Williams said:—"Flemingstone Court was another of the fine Glamorganshire manor houses of the Tudor period, with fragments embedded in its structure of an earlier house, not so perfect and complete as Llanfihangel, but still so much of it as is left, maintained in good condition by the tenant, whose family have resided there for several generations. It was at one time the fortified manor house of the Fleming family, who occupied an important position in Glamorganshire from the 13th to the 17th centuries. The original courtyard is still enclosed within the old embattled wall which skirts the contiguous churchyard, and is connected with the remains of a tower which might have formed part of the gatehouse. The church has been restored, and retains but little of interest except a very fine monumental effigy of a Dame Joan Fleming, probably 13th century, with this somewhat curious inscription, 'Merci qui ici l'ame quarante jours pour Dame Joan Fleming git ici Dieu de l'ame aiet merci.'"

On the return home the party were very kindly and hospitably entertained by Mr. Mansel Franklen.

#### TUESDAY, 23RD AUGUST.

The visitors had been invited by the Mayor (Mr. Alderman Thomas Rees) to a reception at the Town Hall, and all the members attending the Congress, together with lady relatives and friends, accordingly met in the Assembly Room at 10 o'clock, and were received by the Mayor

and Corporation, members of the local Association, and other gentlemen. Dr. C. T. Vachell (President of the Local Committee) occupied the chair during the formal part of the proceedings, and there were also on the platform Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*; Mr. Allan Wyon, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*; Rev. C. J. Thompson, vicar of St. John's; and Mr. Edwin Seward, *Local Hon. Sec.* The members of the Corporation and officials supporting the Mayor were Alderman Daniel Lewis, Alderman David Jones, Alderman P. W. Carey, Councillors F. J. Beavan, E. Beavan, S. A. Brain, Morgan Morgan, Henry White, Augustus Lewis, W. E. Vaughan, and J. Comley; Mr. F. C. Lloyd, Deputy Town Clerk; Mr. F. R. Greenhill, Borough Treasurer; Mr. J. A. B. Williams, C.E.; Mr. F. M. Greenhill, Deputy Borough Engineer; and Mr. John Ballinger, Public Librarian. The members of the Association included among many others Colonel Lambert, F.S.A., Mrs. Charles Lambert, Miss Francisca Lambert, Mrs. Bulley, the Misses Waddle, the Mayor of Chester (Mr. C. Brown), Mr. and Mrs. John Bush, Miss Bush, Mr. R. C. Bush, Mr. Thomas Bush, Mr. and Mrs. C. Lynam, Mr. Lynam, junr., Dr. and the Misses Winstone, Mr. R. Lloyd, Mr. W. H. Cope, F.S.A., Mr. P. D. Pranker, Mr. and Mrs. Nathan, Mr. and Mrs. Horsfall, Mr. W. Bull, Mr. W. J. Nichols, Mr. Harry Sheraton, Dr. Phené, LL.D., F.S.A., Mr. S. Rayson, *Vice-Treasurer*, Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, and Mrs. Brock, Mr. Essington Hughes, Mr. and Mrs. A. Hudd, Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Fry, Miss Jones, Mr. Iltud Nichol, Rev. H. Cart, Mr. E. W. Fawckner, Mr. Chaffey-Chaffey, Mrs. Laxton, Mr. Tyzack, and Mrs. Edwin Seward.

Dr. Vachell briefly introduced the Mayor, who had come down from North Wales to meet the delegates.

His Worship the Mayor, in welcoming the Association, said to Cardiff had come during the last quarter of a century a large number of distinguished persons and bodies, representative of commerce, of various industries, and also of different theories of social life, of organisation, and of science. They at Cardiff had always welcomed those distinguished bodies, but to none did they offer a more cordial welcome than to the British Archæological Association. To his (the speaker's) mind archæology was the mirror of history, and they could not study history without becoming better men and women. This was an age of self-assurance and self-esteem—nay, more, it was a conceited age, and the study of archæology was a corrective of that conceit. In and around Cardiff they would find a wide field for their research, and on behalf of himself, the town, and his colleagues, he gave them a hearty welcome.

Mr. Allan Wyon, *Hon. Treasurer*, expressed the thanks of the Association for the kind reception that had been accorded to them by the



Corporation, and their special thanks to the Mayor, who at much personal inconvenience had returned from a distant spot in North Wales, which he was visiting for the benefit of his health, on purpose to receive the Association, and to speak the kind words of welcome to which they had just listened. It was with feelings of no small pleasure that the members of the Association had come to Cardiff, a town which at the beginning of the present century had a population so small that in the neighbourhood of London it would not have been noticed on maps, even amongst those showing small villages. But during the two or three days the Association had been in Cardiff they had been struck by the size of the town and of its Docks, and the many signs of comfort and opulence abounding in the town; by its teeming population, reckoning by which alone Cardiff now stood as the thirteenth or fourteenth town or city in the United Kingdom; and in Cardiff they felt they were in the presence of a people who by their industry, ingenuity, and integrity, had made the little one become a thousand, and the small one a strong city. But the Association had come to Cardiff not to look upon the great achievements its citizens had made within the present century; the Association had come to Cardiff because Cardiff was in Wales, which for centuries had been the land of romantic legend, of noble story, and of heroic deeds. They had come because they were the British Archæological Association, and they thought that they could not study British archæology in better company than in Wales, where they were among the Britons of the Britons. The result of the study of archæology by their Association and by kindred Societies had been making a most marked change in the method of writing history within the last few years. Archæologists had gathered together a mass of minute information not only about those who had dwelt in palaces, but about those who had dwelt in smaller castles, in monasteries, in very humble houses, and even in cottages. They had laid out with perfect fidelity a knowledge of the lives and habits of the sovereigns, barons, citizens, peasants, and of even the paupers, who had lived in the past ages. This mass of information, laboriously collected and carefully arranged, had been slowly amassed, awaiting the genius of a Macaulay, or a Freeman, or a Green, who had made all these dry bones of archæology a living, palpitating history, not so much of the kings or queens, but of the peoples of the past. These historians had been aided in their work by availing themselves of the labours of archæologists and antiquaries, who had visited spots, and raked up what at first sight appeared to be but trifling incidents in the lives of people long passed away, until at length that which was past had been placed in noon-day light once more, and they could exactly understand how people lived and acted in hovels, houses, castles, and monasteries, of which the ruins only now remain, whilst those very



ruins are by the skill of the archæologist reconstructed by plan and description, and made to stand forth before the mind once more in all their ancient beauty and interest. With the object of still further advancing this work the Association had come to Cardiff. The members of the Association much appreciated the kind welcome they had received from the Mayor and Corporation, to whom Mr. Wyon proposed a vote of very sincere and hearty thanks.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, *Hon. Sec.*, seconded the vote of thanks, which was passed with applause.

At the invitation of the Mayor the company then partook of light refreshments.

The company proceeded to Margam. Alighting at Pyle Station, vehicles were found in readiness, and a start was made for the Abbey. The intention was to make a short detour for the purpose of visiting the Ogam stone, but this part of the programme was reluctantly abandoned. At Margam the party found a hearty welcome awaiting them at the hands of Miss Talbot's agent, Mr. Edward Knox. In the orangery luncheon was served, after which the visitors examined the ancient chapter-house and Abbey. Here in this lovely spot, which is surrounded by magnificent stretches of park-like country and sheltered from the north wind by a noble oak-clad hill, stand the venerable relics of a bygone age which the party had travelled to inspect. The visitors congregated near the entrance to the chapter-house, and listened to Mr. W. de Gray Birch's paper on the history of the Abbey. Mr. Birch put down the date of the foundation of the Abbey as 1147, and inclined to the opinion that the founder was Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the same noble who built the castles of Cardiff and Bristol. The first foundation of the Cistercian house was at Pendar Abbey, the hill close by, but when the site was transferred to Margam is not precisely known. Mr. Birch believes the title of Margam is derived from the name of Morgan, son of Caradoc, one of its earliest and most liberal benefactors; and it was under this chieftain's auspices that the site was transferred from its original location, which was, no doubt, the result of accident rather than choice. Mr. Brock then guided the party around the chapter-house and the Abbey, and described the architectural features. Mr. Brock holds the opinion that when the Abbey was first founded it was erected on exceedingly plain and simple lines, befitting the austere designs loved by the Cistercian Order at that time. But the brethren became more luxurious, and half a century later they commenced rebuilding their Abbey, and introduced more ornamental adornment at each subsequent renovation. When the interior of the Abbey was being inspected by the party an interesting point was raised by Mr. Williams. Mr. Brock had been describing certain peculiarities in the design, the plain and simple style

of architecture; and Mr. Williams suggested that the Abbey may have been founded much earlier than generally believed, and adapted by the Cistercians according to their needs and requirements. Several stone crosses in the Abbey were described by Mr. T. H. Thomas as displaying serpentine ornament, and which are variously determined as having been sculptured during the period from the 6th to the 10th century. On leaving the Abbey the party returned to Port Talbot Station, arriving at Cardiff shortly after six o'clock.

Later in the evening the members met in the Assembly Room at the Town Hall to hear papers read. Dr. Vachell presided.

Mr. Allan Wyon, F.S.A., Chief Engraver of Her Majesty's Seals, read a paper on "The Judicial Seals of the Great Sessions of Wales", which has been printed at pp. 1-14.

Mr. J. Coates Carter contributed a paper on "The Priory Church of Chepstow", and Mr. W. Stephen Williams, F.S.A., on "The Excavations at Talley Abbey", which has been printed at pp. 34-44.

The meeting closed with hearty votes of thanks to the readers of the papers.

#### WEDNESDAY, 24TH AUGUST 1892.

Considerably over 100 members took part in the excursion. Leaving Cardiff about half-past nine, the route was taken for Cefn Mably, including a drive through Rumney and St. Mellon's, past the beautiful demesne of Llanrumney. After entering Cefn Mably Park, the visitors drove along the avenue. Mr. Edwin Seward undertook the task of describing the mansion. The interesting Elizabethan building is connected with the one great historical event succeeding the conquest upon which the Middle Age history of Glamorgan turns, "the winning of Glamorgan by Robert Fitzhamon, Earl of Gloucester, and his twelve knights"—and from the earl's daughter Mabel the seat derived its name. Most of the western end of the mansion—this being the older portion—is of the early Tudor period, the early Georgian style having been followed in the erection of the eastern end. But, striking as is the outward appearance of the mansion, it is to the various rooms and their contents that the interest attaches. In the entrance-hall is an old "black jack", bearing date 1646. A notable feature of what is termed the Soldiers' Gallery, occupied by the Royalist garrison when the place was besieged in 1645, is an immense guard-table fashioned from one gigantic oak, upon which were set out a formidable array of weapons. In the picture-gallery are hung a large number of paintings and portraits of the ladies of the period of Charles I.

Lord Tredegar met the party at Cefn Mably, and conducted them to

Ruperra Park to inspect several oblong mounds in the park. A longitudinal trench had been cut through one to a depth of about five feet. Particles of charcoal and coal and traces of copper were seen in the cuttings. Sufficient signs were, however, seen to induce the belief that the site had probably been used as a place of burial.

Leaving Ruperra, the party reached Caerphilly Castle, where, by the courtesy of the Marquess of Bute, K.T., a past President of the Association, luncheon was served in the banquetting-hall, being a kindness warmly recognised after the luncheon by Mr. Allan Wyon, *Hon. Treasurer*, on behalf of the Association.

Mr. R. Drane, F.L.S., gave a very short description of the castle. Apart from his description of the castle, which he said was the most remarkable in the kingdom, Mr. Drane related many interesting details of the mode of life of the nobles who held sway at the time the castle was inhabited. He showed specimens of the coins of the period, the silver and pewter spoons in use at the time, and a horn drinking-cup, which was supposed to possess magical properties. After a walk round the castle the journey was resumed.

On arriving at Llandaff, the visitors were entertained at a garden party at Rookwood, being welcomed by Sir Edward Hill, Lady Hill, and the Misses Hill; and after this pleasant break in the journey, they returned to Cardiff.

At the evening meeting in the Assembly Room at the Town Hall, Cardiff, under the presidency of Dr. Vachell, papers were read by Rev. H. Cart on "Early Christianity in Wales", and by Rev. W. David, M.A., on "The History of St. Fagan's", which has been printed above, at pp. 23-33. Votes of thanks were passed to these gentlemen for their papers.

#### THURSDAY, 25TH AUGUST 1892.

To-day, Caerleon was visited, under the guidance of Mr. Brock. The party first visited the Museum, where there is a good, though somewhat limited, collection of Roman remains, described many years ago by Dr. Lee in his *Isca Silurum*. Mr. Brock explained that Caerleon was the ancient capital of that part of Britain, and there were sufficient remains to show the extent of the city. It was small in relation to other Roman cities of historical importance. For instance, Chester, where the Sixth Legion was established, for many years was infinitely larger than Caerleon, though the Second Legion originally had its *locale* at Caerleon. He was surprised, considering the importance of the ancient city of Caerleon, that there were so few remains, but he believed there are many to be discovered in years to come. Referring to the specimens of Roman work in the Museum, he



explained that the four columns of the crypt were taken from the Roman villa near the castle, and that some of the specimens of Roman pavement were brought from Caerwent.

Caerleon Church was next visited, arches being noticed of Norman date which support one part of the tower. The visitors then inspected the mound in the grounds of the castle, through the kind permission of Mr. Alfred Williams. The old Priory was pointed out on the road leading from the church to the castle. Mr. Loftus Brock showed that the mound in the castle grounds was erected by the Saxons on the site of the Roman villa for defensive purposes. A similar mound existed in the grounds of Cardiff Castle, which had upon it masonry of a later date, probably belonging to the thirteenth century. The last place visited was the amphitheatre, outside a very well preserved portion of the wall of the city.

The programme provided for a visit of inspection to Cardiff Castle as an alternative to the excursion to Newport and Caerleon. Both the castle and the grounds were, by kind permission of the Marquess of Bute, K.T., open to the visitors, who availed themselves of the privilege of viewing what is undoubtedly one of the finest private residences in the kingdom. The party were guided through the building by Mr. E. W. M. Corbett, Mr. Godwin meeting them in the library, and showing the books and objects of interest there. After having inspected the numerous apartments, the members of the Association and friends proceeded to the grounds. A smaller party, under the guidance of Mr. J. Storrie, Curator of the Cardiff Museum, paid a visit to the foundations of the ancient fortifications within the castle walls and to the Roman remains near North Road. The ruins of the Black Friars and White Friars monasteries were also examined, after which a small party of the visitors proceeded to the Cardiff Museum, where they examined the Roman remains that were discovered at Llantwit.

About half-past two the members re-assembled behind the Town Hall in Westgate Street, and were driven to St. Fagan's and Talygarn. Llandaff was soon reached. On reaching St. Fagan's, the church of St. Mary's was first inspected, under the guidance of the Rev. W. David, the rector.

Near the church is St. Fagan's Castle, of which the outer wall remains. A Jacobean house was built within the area by Dr. Gibbon of the Cefntre-Payne family. On the abandonment of The Van (which the Association passed on the previous day *en route* to Caerphilly from Ruperra), it became the seat of Sir Edward Lewis, who came into possession of it four years earlier. On one side are the Royal arms, and on the other are the arms of the family. The house itself contains many objects of topographical interest. A quantity of valuable



tapestry illustrative of Dutch scenery hangs on the walls, whilst rare old carved oak is abundantly displayed. At the back the grounds are tastefully laid out in landscape gardening, while towards the left is a terrace looking over a stretch of mountain scenery, with meandering stream and fishponds at the foot. Towards the right, as seen from this platform, a site is pointed out, said to represent the place occupied by St. Fagan, reputed to have been the first to administer baptism in the British Isles.

Leaving this spot a drive was undertaken through beautiful wooded scenery *via* Miskin to Talygarn, where a garden party was enjoyed through the kindness of Mr. G. T. Clark, F.S.A., and Mr. and Mrs. Godfrey Clark. This seat contains many specimens of ancient armour, weapons, and china; and in inspecting the many antiquarian treasures a most pleasant afternoon was spent.

Owing to the late hour of return, and the heavy rain in the evening, Dr. Vachell, the Chairman, decided to adjourn the papers and discussions until the following day.

#### FRIDAY, 26TH AUGUST 1892.

The members of the British Archæological Association inspected the Maesyfelin Cromlech and the St. Nicholas Cromlech, near by, where Mr. Franklen Evans, J.P., F.R.A.S., read a short paper on those remains. He stated that they were buried mounds from which the earth had been cleared away. The St. Nicholas Cromlech is said to have the largest top stone of any in Great Britain, it being 24 ft. 5 in. in extreme length, and 13 ft. 2 in. in extreme breadth, the height of the interior being about 5 ft.

The party then drove to Llancarvan Church, the principal features of which were described by Mr. O. H. Jones, J.P., of Fonmon Castle. Parts of this building are of great antiquity. It was here that the School of St. Cadoc was founded, and the kings of South Wales sent their sons to be educated here. A monastery near it has been destroyed; but the abbot's house has been preserved, and documents of Llancarvan are still extant.

Llantwit Major was reached afterwards, the route being by way of St. Athan's Church and Boverton, where the line of the old *Via Julia Maritima* was crossed. After luncheon Mr. Iltud Nicholl, J.P., F.S.A., of The Ham, described the church at Llantwit, calling attention to the specimens of early inscribed crosses and stones, and the mural decorations.

The next stoppage was made at Fonmon Castle, of which Mr. Jones, the owner, gave a brief description. He explained that it dated from

the twelfth century, and had been added to since it was acquired, in 1654, by his ancestor, Colonel Philip Jones, who took a prominent part on the Parliamentary side in the Civil War. It was, he said, one of the very few houses built in the time of Henry II that was now inhabited, and that had been in the occupation of only two branches of the family throughout the whole of the intervening period.

Tea having been partaken of, the journey was resumed, *via* Porthkerry Park, and near the ruins of Barry Castle, Mr. J. Storrie, Curator of Cardiff Museum, read a paper on the Roman villa near Llantwit Major. Mr. Storrie showed photographs of the excavations which he made on his own account, and described the finds of skeletons, urns containing human remains, a tessellated floor, remains of a Roman bath, etc. It is desirable that we should know what is in the villa, and what might be learned of the Roman occupation of that part of the country, and it is hoped that a paper on the subject may be prepared.

The company afterwards walked to Barry Railway Station, reaching Cardiff at half-past eight o'clock.

At nine o'clock a meeting was held in the Town Hall. Dr. Vachell presided, and Mr. J. C. Carter read a paper, which had been prepared by Mr. J. P. Seddon, architect, upon "The History and Architecture of Llandaff Cathedral", the latter being illustrated by a large number of drawings.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock read a paper written by Mr. A. C. Fryer, Ph.D., M.A., on "Llantwit Major, a Fifth Century University".

The proceedings were then closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

#### SATURDAY, 27TH AUGUST 1892.

The members visited Cowbridge. On reaching Cowbridge, the rain was falling, and it was decided to omit visiting St. Donat's, St. Bride's Major, and Wick, and drive direct to Ewenny Priory in covered conveyances provided by Mr. Thomas of the Bear Hotel. Here they were received, on behalf of Mrs. Turbervill, by Colonel J. Picton-Turbervill and Mrs. Turbervill and a few lady friends, who did their utmost to make amends, by the warmth and geniality of their welcome, for the disagreeableness of the weather. They were conducted through the Priory Church by Colonel Turbervill, who pointed out the objects of interest in this fine old pile, which is especially noteworthy as being almost the largest early Norman edifice in Wales, the structure being one of the few examples of a fortified ecclesiastical building. It was

founded about 1140 by William de Londres, who came into Glamorganshire as one of the twelve knights accompanying Robert Fitzhamond. The font is an unusual and fine example, and the choir is massively vaulted. There is also a beautiful tomb in the south transept; the north transept is destroyed:

After visiting the Abbey, the party were entertained to luncheon, and afterwards inspected the outlying gateway and the grounds, after which a hearty vote of thanks was accorded Mrs. Turbervill and Colonel and Mrs. Picton-Turbervill. They then returned to Cowbridge, and later on the home journey was undertaken, Cardiff being reached about six o'clock.

In the evening the closing meeting was held in the Assembly Room, Town Hall, Dr. Vachell, President of the Local Executive Committee, being in the chair.

Mr. W. H. Cope, F.S.A., London, read a paper on Cambrian Pottery, and Mr. Loftus Brock submitted one entitled "A Comparison of the Roman Stations of Caerwent, Caerleon, and Cardiff."

Mr. Allan Wyon, *Hon. Treasurer* of the Association, proposed "That this Meeting desires to express the sense of indebtedness which the members of the Congress of the British Archæological Association feel for the great assistance, courtesy, and kindness they have received from the Patrons, President, Vice-Presidents, members of the Local Executive Committee, and the Honorary Local Secretary, and also to the gentlemen who, by their papers and addresses, have communicated information and instruction at the proceedings, and to the ladies and gentlemen who have so kindly extended their hospitality to the members of the Congress, and afforded opportunities for inspecting various objects of antiquarian interest; and this meeting desires to convey their best thanks to all those noblemen, ladies, and gentlemen who have thus contributed to render the Congress now closing a most valuable and useful means of promoting and extending the knowledge of archæology, and to make the visit to Cardiff and its neighbourhood so very pleasant and bright as it had been." In doing so, Mr. Wyon congratulated the representatives of the Local Committee on the admirable way in which the arrangements had been made and carried out, the proceedings having been unusually successful.

Colonel Lambert seconded the proposition, which was cordially passed.

The Chairman, in responding, said it gave him and the others concerned great satisfaction to know that everything had turned out so pleasantly for members of the Association during their stay at Cardiff.

Mr. Edwin Seward, *Local Hon. Secretary*, also responded, remarking

that if they had made a mistake at all, it had been in providing the Association with too large a programme on most of the days. But if that were found to be an inconvenience, it was rather necessary, perhaps, to put the blame upon their predecessors of centuries past, who had made so many interesting history marks in Glamorganshire.

A hearty vote of thanks was also passed to the Mayor of Cardiff (Alderman T. Rees), who had welcomed the Association so cordially, and given such excellent facilities for their business arrangements and the holding of their meetings.

The proceedings were then closed.

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## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, 4TH JANUARY 1893.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC., IN THE CHAIR.

EDWIN SEWARD, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., of Cardiff, was unanimously elected a Local Member of Council for Glamorganshire.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited, on behalf of Dr. Fairbank, a rubbing of the brass of Lord and Lady Camoys, Trotton, Sussex. The special points of interest about this very beautiful brass are, the fine double canopy, the super-canopy, the Garter, the SS. collars, the small effigy of the son standing by his mother, the mark of the artist, "N", the *surcote ouverte*, etc.

Mr. Brock also exhibited a series of fragments of Roman pottery gathered up along the Roman Wall, Northumberland, close to the *linea vallii*; fragments of polished marble, showing fossils, from Roman buildings; and a few coins of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

Mr. A. Oliver exhibited a collection of documents, of which he promised to send a notice at a future date.

Mr. J. Park Harrison, M.A., exhibited a photograph of an illumination from a very quaint MS. in the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, containing the *Vita Sancti Cuthberhti* by Venerable Bede. The picture represents King Ecgrith dedicating to St. Cuthberht a shrine containing reliques. The border of the page is ornamented with foliage, lions, and other details which appear to resemble similar details in the well-known Bibles of Alcuin and Charlemagne. Mr. Harrison thought a date of A.D. 930-50 might be assigned to the work, and promises a paper, and reproduction of the plate, in a future part of the *Journal*.

Rev. J. Caye-Browne, M.A., Vicar of Detling, near Maidstone, read a paper on "Detling Church", and exhibited a collection of illustrations of the church, lectern, etc. This will, it is hoped, be printed hereafter in the *Journal*, with illustrations.

Mr. Brock read a paper entitled "Old Traders' Signs in Little Britain", by H. Syer Cuming, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., which will be included in a future *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 18TH JAN. 1893.

ALLAN WYON, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :—

*To the Society*, for “Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland”, Part IV, vol. ii.

*To the Author*, for “Excavations in Bokerly and Wansdyke, Dorset and Wilts., 1888-1891.” By Lieut.-General Pitt-Rivers. Vol. iii. Printed privately. 1892.

It was announced that an invitation had been received from the Mayor of Winchester (W. Shenton, Esq.), to hold the Annual Congress in that ancient city, with a hearty welcome, and that the invitation had been accepted. The Meeting will take place early in August next. and visits will be paid to many places of antiquarian interest in the locality.

Rev. D. Bowen, of Pembroke, sent for exhibition some views of his remarkable church at Monkton, Pembroke. On the occasion of the Association's visit during the Tenby Congress, the members found the eastern church (which was then quite separate from the western or parish church beyond it) in a state of complete ruin. It has now been most judiciously restored, and has been added to the parochial portion. There is a second chapel to the north of the restored building, divided by a narrow passage. This still remains roofless, and with the ruined walls covered with ivy.

J. T. Irvine, Esq., made a communication with respect to several incised stones. Sketches of the objects were exhibited and examined, the opinion of the Meeting being that the whole of the objects should be referred to a pre-Norman date, Scandinavian or Danish influence being very conspicuous in the design of one of them.

A communication from Mr. J. Storrie of Cardiff, respecting a discovery of ancient remains in that city, was read.

E. P. Loftus Brock, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, in continuance of a former communication, reported the discovery of a second portion of the basement-foundations of Old Bridewell. A thick mass of walling, of chalk, supporting the base of a wall of bright red brick, has been unearthed parallel to the foundations, previously described, on the eastern side. The construction on piles is similar, and a single relieving arch has been discovered, more acutely pointed than any of the range of arches previously described. The foundations appear to extend behind the houses still standing in Water Lane, and they are supposed to go under Tudor Street. The western wall of one of the

houses having a frontage to the latter thoroughfare has an angular projection on the line of the wall, as if it occupied the site of an octagonal turret. The remains have been found during the excavations for the new Electric Light Works, in the rear of De Keyser's Hotel, now in course of erection by Messrs. Mowlem.

The Chairman exhibited a representative collection of old English coins in silver and copper, and also some early Colonial coins in the latter metal.

Cecil Davis, Esq., described a series of leaden trade-labels issued by merchants of Haarlem, and recently dredged up in the river Thames. They were used to mark bales of various classes of goods, and were removed and thrown overboard when the goods were unpacked. They mostly bear the initials or the merchant's trade-mark.

A paper was then read by T. Cann Hughes, Esq., on the "Misereres of Chester Cathedral", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*. It was illustrated by a fine and perfect series of photographs of the sculptures, taken by the lecturer's father, the late Mr. Hughes, when they were removed for restoration.

### WEDNESDAY, 1ST FEB. 1893.

ALLAN WYON, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREAS., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :—

*To the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, for a "General Index to Proceedings", vols. i-xxiv.

*To the Cambrian Archaeological Association*, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", 5th Series, No. 37.

*To the Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, for the "Annuaire", 1893, tome iv, and "Annales", tome vii, livr. 1.

*To the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, for "Report of Council for 1891-1892".

*To the Author*, for "The Parish Register of Great Hampden, co. Bucks., Monumental Inscriptions and List of Rectors, 1557-1812"  
Edited by Ernest Arthur Ebbelwhite. 1888.

Mr. E. A. Ebbelwhite exhibited two bronze coins of Claudius Secundus and Constantine the Great, found at Kirschenwasser in 1879, and given by Baron Adolf von Ziegezar of Brussels to him in 1880.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited medals of Francis Bacon, Viscount Verulam, Lord Chancellor; the crown-piece of Charles II by Simons (two types); and a satirical medal bearing, *obv.*, "Jhesus Christus: Ecce Agnus", etc.; *rev.*, the Pope, "Filius Perditionis", etc. Mr. Way also

exhibited an engraved view of "Antiquity Hall", near Oxford, a student's hostel, now demolished.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., read a paper on "Pre-Norman Crosses found near Otley, on the Wharfe", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter in this *Journal*.

Mr. C. Davis read a paper on "Royal Progresses to Wandsworth in Mediæval Times." This also, it is hoped, will find a place in a future part of the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 15TH FEB. 1893.

W. E. HUGHES, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

E. A. Ebbelwhite, Esq., F.S.A., Heralds' College, was elected Honorary Correspondent.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :—

*To the India Office*, for "Famous Monuments of Central India". By Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I.

*To the Society*, for "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society for 1891-92", vol. xvi, part ii.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a stone found in Leadenhall Street, and excavated below Roman remains.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a series of drawings, by *Kip*, of London and suburbs, in a good state of preservation, and valuable for the representation of many sites now no longer extant.

Mr. A. Oliver read a paper on "Brasses of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries remaining in Westminster Abbey."

Mr. A. E. Ebbelwhite read a paper on "The Church of Bedfont, co. Middlesex," illustrated with an album of photographs, an engraving, and other views.

WEDNESDAY, 1ST MARCH, 1893.

ALLAN WYON, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The Cardiff Free Library was elected into the list of members.

F. T. Curtis, Esq., Frith Street, Soho Square, was unanimously elected Honorary Correspondent.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :—

*To the Society of Antiquaries*, for "Index of Archæological Papers published in 1891." (Congress of Archæological Societies.)

" " for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London", Second Series, vol. xiv, No. II.



To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Warwickshire Naturalists' Field Club", 36th Annual Report, 1891.

To the Author, for "The Roumanian Question in Transylvania and in Hungary, 1892."

The progress of arrangements for the Winchester Congress was announced.

Mr. T. Blashill exhibited a stone covered with hieroglyphics, found in a garden in Brompton, apparently part of a column; the back chipped out for convenience of carriage. It contains three emblems, viz., the *ankh*, or symbol of life; the hawk on a bracelet or standard; and the *nefer*, or lute.

Mr. Blashill also exhibited a curious shoe with long, square toe, apparently of the seventeenth century, found in Lauderdale House, Highgate, during repair.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a collection of Græco-Roman vases of various shapes, the *lekythos*, *aryballos*, *amphoræ*, and *cantharus*, found in Pompeian excavations.

Mr. Arthur Langdon exhibited a collection of objects found in a lake or pile-dwelling in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury, co. Somerset. Among them were a sharpened wooden peg for fastening floor-boards; part of a boat, about 18 to 20 ft. long, cut out of a tree; pieces of puddled clay used as cement in interstices of floor; jawbone of sheep; fragments of the unbaked British pottery, hand-made, very dark and friable; and other *fictilia*.

Mr. Cecil Davis exhibited a large album of trade-labels made by Dirck van Bray of Haarlem in 1640-90, and formerly belonging to Sir Charles Price, a banker, and collector of antiquities.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., announced a valuable gift by Admiral Tremlett, consisting of a large collection of tracings and drawings of prehistoric objects and sites in Brittany, made by the Admiral during the last twenty years; and read notes accompanying portions of them. A further portion will be laid on the table on a future occasion.

Mr. Brock also exhibited a plate of the Camoys brass, to which reference has been already made.

Rev. J. Cave-Browne read a paper on "Leeds Priory, Kent", and exhibited some illustrations having reference to his remarks. This paper will be printed in the *Journal* hereafter.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., read, in the absence of the author, the following paper on "Pemberton's Parlour, Chester," prepared by Mr. T. Cann Hughes:—

#### PEMBERTON'S PARLOUR, CHESTER.

This interesting relic of former days collapsed, and was, in a measure, destroyed on Saturday afternoon, Jan. 23rd. Those who have walked

round the walls of Chester will remember this bastion, and it may be useful to put on record what is known about it. It has been alleged that its origin was Norman, but it appears far more likely that (like the other towers on our walls, *e.g.*, the Water Tower, Phoenix Tower, and Thimbleby's Tower) it is Edwardian. In Hemingway's *History of Chester* (vol. i, p. 355) the author quotes from a manuscript description of the walls, written about 1707-11, and says:—"From hence (the Northgate) we go still westward, passing by a small platform formerly called Morgan's Mount, and shortly after a small tower formerly called Goblin's or Dill's (since, Pemberton's Parlour), which, being ruinous, was of late half of it taken down; the other half, being a semicircle, still remains, and, arched over and benched round with stone, makes a very good station from whence you have a fine prospect of the Crofts and the west part of the city."

What was the weird legend which gave the tower its old title, or who the man Dill was, is now unknown.

My father, the late Thomas Hughes, F.S.A., in his *Stranger's Handbook to Chester* (1856), says, "Though now semicircular, this was in all probability a round or octagonal tower when first erected, having a passage through for pedestrians." Mr. Hughes thinks that the Tower was originally twice its present height. There is an engraving of it on p. 25 of his *Guide*; and a steel engraving, showing it from another side, will be found in the large paper edition of the same book.

But why "Pemberton's Palour"? It is known that one John Pemberton had a rope-walk underneath the walls at this point, in the last century, and it is alleged that he sat in this alcove (for the semicircular arch was fitted with stone seats), and watched his men working. John Pemberton was made a Freeman of Chester in 1693.

The Pembertons were a well-established Chester family, and the city archives contain many references to them. The said John Pemberton was one of the two City Sheriffs in 1716, and served the office of Mayor in 1730.

The Tower was, as has been said, restored by the Corporation in 1702, and the following inscription, restored in 1882 (which alone, with the coat of arms on the left of it, has survived the catastrophe of Jan. 23rd), appears on its face:—"In the seventh year of the glorious reign of Queen Anne, divers large breaches in these walls were rebuilt, and other decays therein were repaired, two thousand yards of the pace were new Flagged or Paved, and the whole Improved, Regulated, and Adorned, at the expence of One Thousand Pounds and upwards. Thos. Hand, Esq., Mayor, 1701; The Right Honble. William Earl of Derby, Mayor, 1702, who dyed in his Mayoralty." Beneath was a list of the Mayors and Murengers between 1702 and 1708. The latter officers had charge of the repair of our city walls.

In the *Life of Mrs. Jordan*, by Boaden, is an account of a curious interview which took place in this Tower between this talented actress and Mr. Colin Robinson, a well-known Wesleyan local preacher of the period (1789), which speaks well for the goodness of heart of the famous native of the adjacent Principality of Wales. There is an excellent view of the Tower in J. Skinner Prout's *Antiquities of Chester*.

In conclusion, it is only due to mention the prompt action of our correspondent, the City Surveyor of Chester (Mr. Isaac Matthews Jones), who, acting under the instruction of the present public-spirited Mayor (Alderman Charles Brown, J.P.), at once propped up the walls at this point, and hopes to save what remains of the Tower, and renew the lost portions as speedily as possible.

Mr. Brock read a letter from Mr. Charles Brown, Mayor of Chester, referring to this, in the course of which Mr. Brown writes :—

“Our Corporation are most anxious to have the tower usually styled ‘Pemberton’s Parlour’ restored with old material. It has already been cleared to the foundation, which rests on the red sandstone rock. About six courses of the original work remain in fairly good condition. It is evidently masonry of the Edwardian period, whilst the greater portion of that which fell appeared to be inferior work of the restoration or general repair of A.D. 1702. The arch connecting the parapet of the City Wall is, I am happy to say, safe, as also the inscribed tablet and large sculptured shield on the west side of the front; but these will have to be taken down and re-inserted when the tower is restored. The corresponding shield on the east side is gone; but I think we possess in the Water Tower grounds one that will replace it. The original Roman Wall extends, in a very perfect condition, quite up to this Tower.

“I am also glad to say that nearly every member of our Corporation would willingly assist in retaining these interesting landmarks of the past.”

WEDNESDAY, 15TH MARCH 1893.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Earl of Northbrook, K.C.I.S., was unanimously elected President.

Mr. Cecil Davis exhibited a rubbing of a large but imperfect brass preserved at North Leach in Gloucestershire, with remarkable Arabic date; and a collection of metal objects found on the shore at Great Meols, in Cheshire, notable for so many similar finds; also a view of Painswick Church, Gloucestershire,—a church which contains the Arabic numerals 1632 on the tower, the 6 having been wilfully altered to a 3 at a later time, without reason.

Dr. J. S. Phené, F.S.A., read a paper on "Golden Apples", which he illustrated with several diagrams and a collection of miscellaneous objects. This paper will, it is hoped, be printed hereafter.

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### Antiquarian Intelligence.

*The Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons.* By the BARON J. DE BAYE. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co.)—Mr. Harbottle, the translator of this work, which was published a few years ago in Paris, has conferred a boon upon English archæologists, who will be delighted to welcome this, the latest contribution towards the advancement of a favourite branch of research. The study of Anglo-Saxon antiquities has lingered long enough in the condition of scattered treatises and incomplete dissertations. Illuminated as it was by the writings and investigations of Roach Smith, Thurnam, Akerman, Wright, and Kemble, no one of these ever essayed to go so far as the Baron de Baye, who for the first time undertakes the classification and comparison of all extant remains of Anglo-Saxon art. In this way we have before us a book which marks an epoch in the progress of antiquarian acumen, although in his own words the author says that we shall obtain but an imperfect result.

There is a manifest benefit in bringing together the several notices of similar objects scattered up and down among the Transactions of various Societies and in numerous works, and it is in the comparative aspect of this book that its chief merit consists. To the student of average observation, and, indeed, to the ordinarily intelligent visitor of our museums, the broad outlines of Anglo-Saxon objects are fairly familiar; but we question if even now any really critical points have been established to enable us to distinguish accurately between what is late and what is early in Anglo-Saxon domestic and military arts.

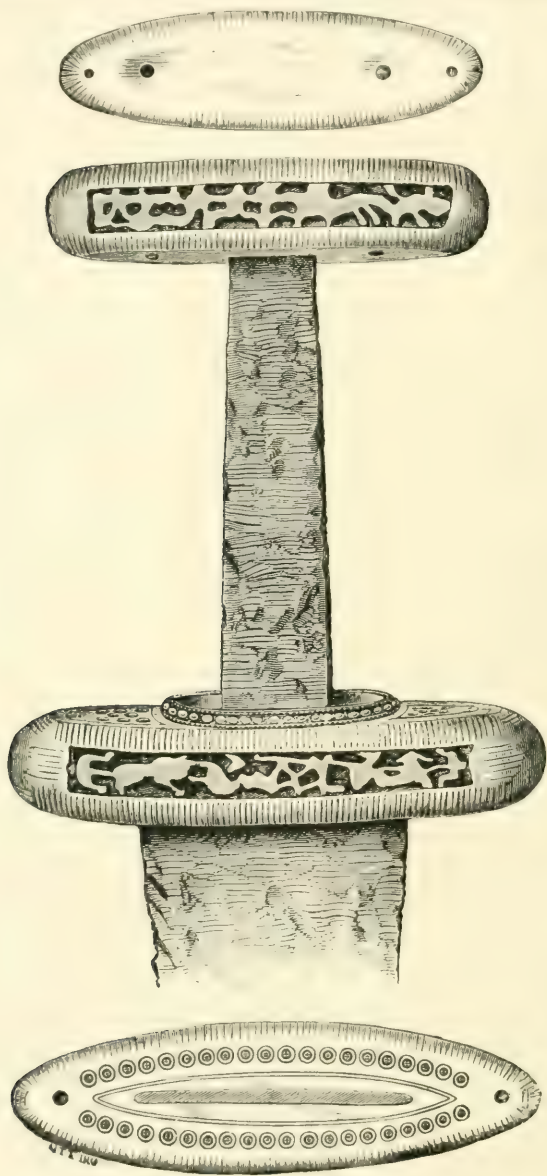
It is interesting to note that the Saxons derive their name (a name applied to them, but not indigenous) from the German *Sarks*, a knife or weapon (a thing to be brandished or shaken in defiance and defence), and that this people, renowned for unexampled bravery, caring nothing for death, met with strong and vigorous opposition from the inhabitants of England. The smallness of the original numbers is surprising, only eighteen hundred; joined, after their first successes, by above five thousand.

In later days these people became universally celebrated for the beauty of their jewellery, designed with elegance, and manufactured in a surprisingly neat and clever manner, considering the necessarily



rudimentary character of their tools,—of which, by the way, the Baron is unable to give a single illustration.

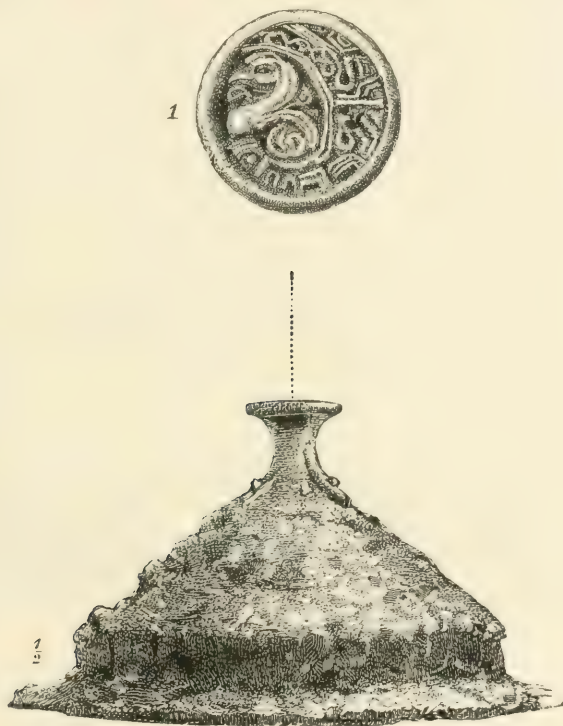
Weapons form the first subject of examination. The swords, which



Sword-Hilt from Reading.

bear a very small proportion to that of the explored graves, appear to mark graves of distinguished persons; who, indeed, in their wills

frequently make these weapons the subject of especial legacies. The hilts were often elaborately adorned: as, for example, that found at Reading, which the author reproduces as a typical specimen of Anglo-Saxon art. The pommel and guard are of white metal, perhaps an alloy of pale copper and silver; the guard enriched with figures of men and animals rudely designed. This was found beneath the skeleton of a horse, which had probably been sacrificed at the time of interment, in obedience to a national custom which survived down to the Middle



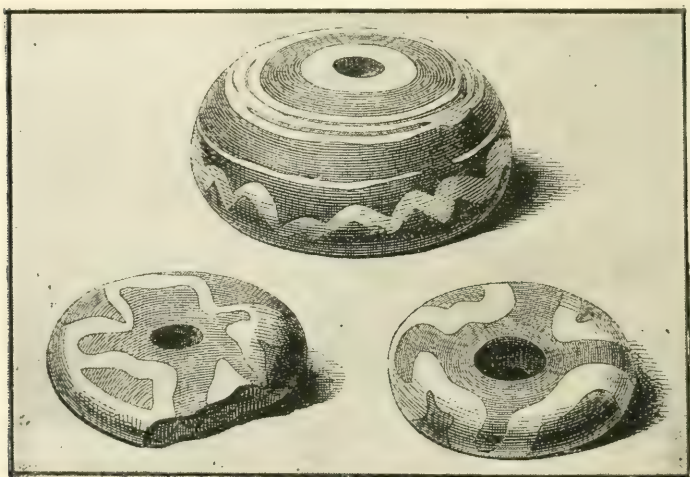
Umbo : Barrington, co. Cambr.

Ages in some parts of England. Some Wiltshire sword-hilts of jet, ornamented with chased gold designs, in the possession of Mr. Cunningham of Devizes, should have been mentioned in the author's account of these weapons.

Spears and javelins of several well-defined forms appear to be more generally found. They were the weapons of the rank and file, in distinction to the sword of the officer and leader. The *angon*, or barbed spear, is far less common, but it has been found in Kent. The *scramasax*, or iron knife, a formidable weapon; the battle-axe, bows and

arrows, and shields, all furnish ample material to Baron de Baye both for text and illustration. He considers that the warriors were accustomed to raise local war-cries when going to battle, and used to intensify the sound by holding the hollow of the umbo to their mouths, whereby the reverberation was increased tenfold, while the clash of arms against it re-echoed with terrifying effect.

Beads have always been a favourite class of antiquity to collectors, not only on account of their portability, but also by reason of their beauty. There is little doubt that they were fashioned by Eastern artists, and made to suit local requirements; much in the same way as our glass-manufacturers prepare beads for the African traders to-day. The beads from Sibertswold, or Shepherd's Well, as it is now called, in Kent, not far from Dover, as figured here, are good and typical



Beads : Sibertswold, Kent.

specimens of the foreign ornaments which delighted the Anglo-Saxon lady, and followed their possessor to the grave,—silent witnesses to the taste and artistic predilections of our ancestors. Some writers have even attributed to these objects a magical or talismanic property, but there is not much evidence on this point. The crystal ball, however, may, notwithstanding Mr. Roach Smith's dissent, have been used for divination, as we know it was so employed in Scotland; and even at the present day there are those who seek to derive prophetic or spiritualistic manifestation from these and similar objects.

The glass vessels with the cruciform protuberances at the side are a very remarkable class of Anglo-Saxon objects. The fragility of these objects makes their excellent preservation, in most instances, a matter of surprise; and there are few sites which have not yielded good

examples. The illustration before us gives comparative examples of British and foreign glass, which seem to show that these also were of foreign make. It is difficult to accept Akerman's opinion that they were used for sacred purposes.



Reculver,  
Kent.

Selzen,  
Germany.

Fairford,  
Gloucestershire.

Douvrend,  
France.

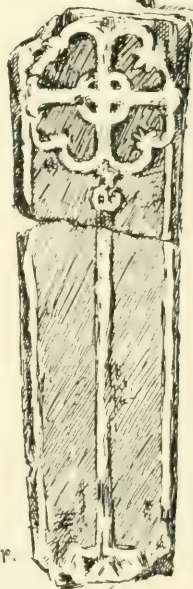
Of the pottery we have no room here to speak. We may, however, in conclusion, express our pleasure in looking over a work so carefully drawn up and so exhaustively treated as this is. It deserves to have a wide circulation, and its form will enable notices of new discoveries to be added very easily to subsequent editions, which are sure to be called for.

The illustrations which are attached to the book form a valuable series, which should be compared with the plates of Akerman, of Faussett, and of Kemble, edited by Mr. Franks.

*Lectures on the History of St. John Baptist Church and Parish, Chester.* By Rev. S. COOPER SCOTT, M.A., Vicar.—Those of our readers who participated in the Proceedings of the Congress recently held at Chester will, doubtless, remember with much pleasure the visit paid to the ancient Church of St. John Baptist, formerly the cathedral church of the Anglo-Saxon see of Lichfield, removed to Chester in the time of William the Conqueror. The stones, of which we reproduce the illustrations from Mr. Scott's work, belong to a period not far from this epoch in the history of the church. These and other ancient tombstones are now preserved in the chapter-house of the church, and attest the antiquity of the building; but of the earliest edifice no other trace remains.

There is not much known of the exact date of the various details of the present church, beyond what can be gathered from the styles of architecture which they exhibit. Probably the best and earliest work is the bay on the south side of the choir, which forms the subject of a

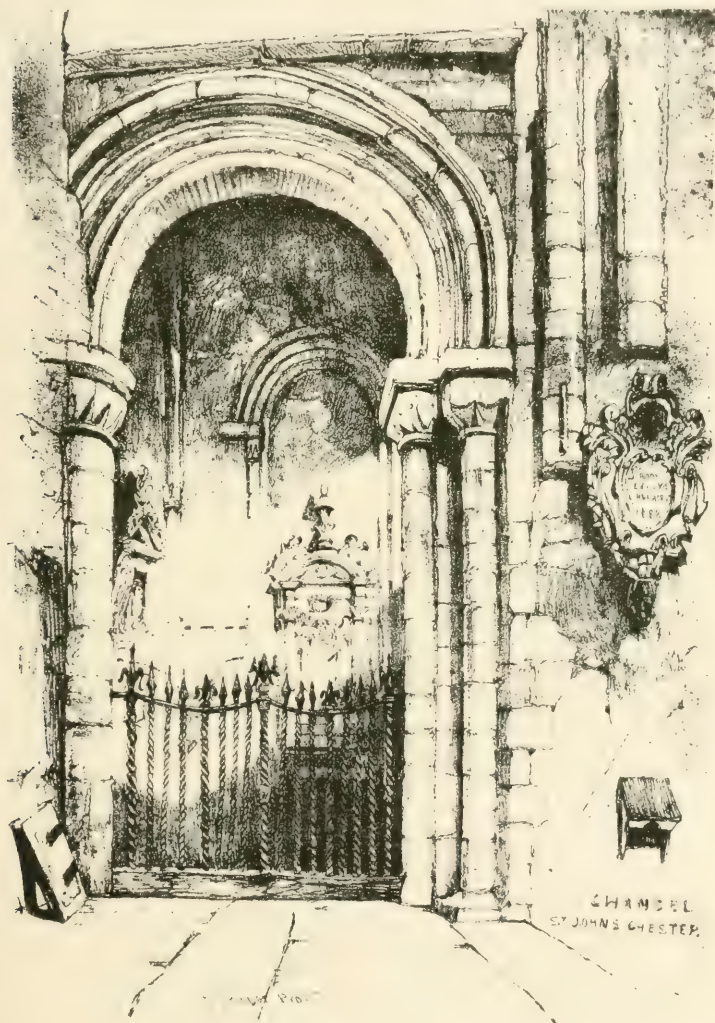




Tombstones in St John's Chester.

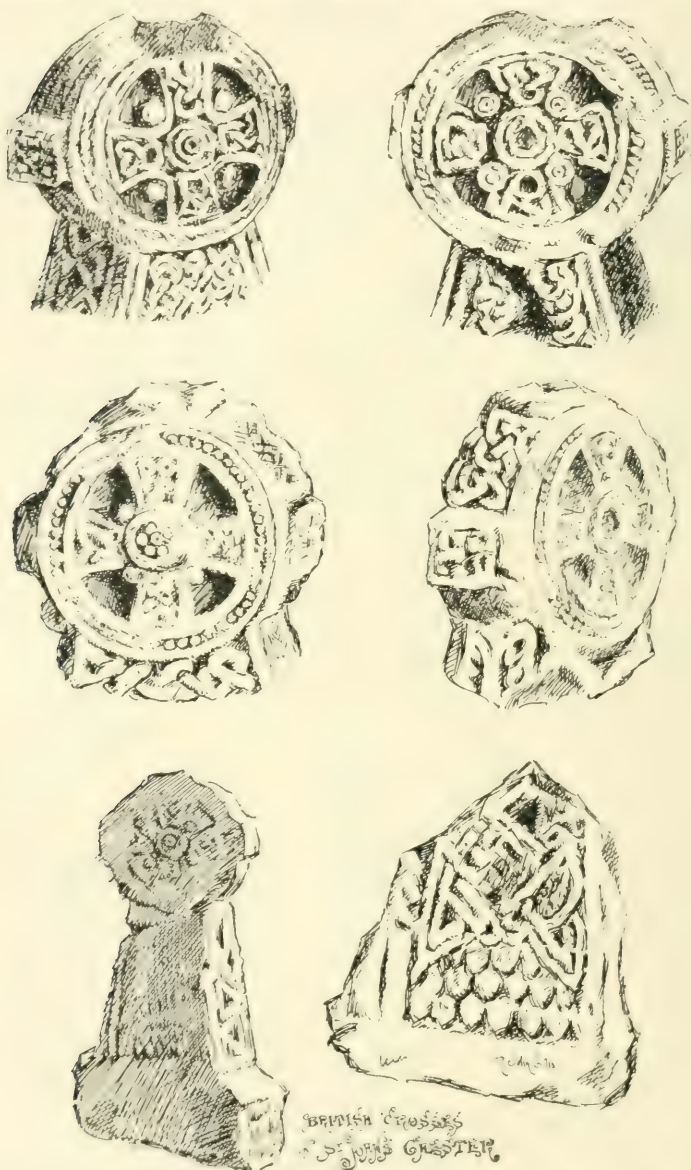
plate (here reproduced), and it resembles in some characteristics work found in Chester Cathedral.

There is always a good supply of material in the way of illustrating the vicissitudes in the history of an ancient church, and Mr. Scott has



had access to the best of the records concerning his church, and has apparently made the best use of them. He has shown, in a variety of ways, how the history of the city and the manners and customs of the inhabitants are interwoven with the history of the sacred fabric, and by reference to documents points out the date of the several alterations

which were effected during the Middle Ages. Antiquarian literature stands much in need of such monographs as the one before us, fully illustrated as this is, and richly stored with ample references to past



local events which bear upon the fortunes of the church. There are probably very few incidents which Mr. Scott has failed to notice ; and if his example could be followed by others elsewhere, a more intelligent



care would be frequently inculcated where neglect and apathy are rife. It is the duty of all temporary custodians of ancient religious buildings not only to shield them from injury and dilapidation, but to excite the veneration of the better portion of the inhabitants of the vicinity, and further the interest, which is generally latent for want of being aroused in a proper way, for these archaic landmarks of the faith of their fathers. In the stones of our cathedrals and churches lies enshrined the history of our progress from paganism to Christianity, and from superstition to enlightenment; and St. John's, Chester, is no exception to the rule, that a great charm lies in the actual tangibility of evidences of so transcendent a nature. When these evidences are lucidly interpreted, their value is enhanced a hundredfold.

*Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. iii. By W. DE G. BIRCH, F.S.A. (London: C. J. Clark, 4 Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.)—The completion of the third volume of the *Cartularium Saxonicum*, bringing the collection of Anglo-Saxon charters down to the end of the reign of King Eadgar, has been delayed by many unforeseen circumstances, which have, however, at length been overcome. Still we regret that the original intention of carrying the work, in one unbroken series, down to the conquest of England by the Normans has to be abandoned, and the work divided into two Series, of which this present vol. iii, and a supplementary volume, complete the first. The Second Series, if it is carried out (a matter depending very much upon the support of subscribers) will continue the collection down to a somewhat later period than was originally intended, so as to include the early English charters of the Norman monarchs.

The supplementary volume will consist of a general introduction to the whole subject, tables of genuine and doubtful texts, *fasti* of royal and other personages, lists of contributory MSS., and full indices of persons, places, and subjects. This volume, being to a great extent introductory, will properly find its place at the beginning of the First Series, and serve as a manual to the study of the subject.

It is a genuine source of gratification to the author that he has been enabled, by dint of examination of a large number of ancient MSS., and by assistance of many friends in different parts of England, to be the first to marshal into one work, in chronological array, the hitherto unparalleled number of no less than thirteen hundred and twenty-five texts which illustrate our history from early Saxon times to A.D. 975, many of which have been hitherto unpublished, and all of which have been collated with the originals—with a very few exceptions indeed, where the originals were inaccessible—so that the student may consult them as they actually stand in their MSS., with whatever errors the scribes of these MSS. have perpetuated; thereby inviting emendations



from them rather than attempting to emend what appears faulty or incorrect. It cannot be expected, nor is it desirable, that the collector of ancient texts should also be the critical expositor of their contents. The compiler's task is completed when he lays before historians and theorists the materials—of as good a quality as may be—out of which they may construct a faithful representation of the Anglo-Saxon times which could not otherwise be achieved. The existence of any other deeds which should fall into the somewhat comprehensive scope of this work is not known, although it is quite possible that a few may have been overlooked; but, speaking generally, it may be taken that we have in these three volumes all available documentary evidence bearing upon our history—other than the work of historians and chroniclers—as far as the limit of years extends.

*Proposed Exploration in Upper Wharfedale.*—The Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society is about to undertake the exploration of certain prehistoric remains in Upper Wharfedale, by means of a subscription to be raised for this purpose, and a Committee has been appointed to carry this resolution into effect. The remains are extensive, and comprise earthworks, several tumuli, and other objects which are expected to prove of exceptional interest. Their significance, however, is at present by no means fully understood.

The Duke of Devonshire, Sir M. W. Wilson, and other owners of property, on whose estates the remains are located, have very kindly consented to such explorations as may be necessary; and the Duke of Devonshire has accepted the Chairmanship of the Committee. Mr. Ernest E. Speight has consented to act as Honorary Secretary to the Exploration Committee.

The Committee suggest that about £100 should be subscribed in the first instance. Subscriptions may be paid to the Treasurer, Mr. William Cash, Union Bank, Halifax; Mr. Ernest E. Speight, Ardyngnook, Baildon.

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### LEEDS PRIORY, KENT.

BY REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.

(*Read 1 March 1893.*)

THE antiquary, while contemplating the ruins of some old abbey, can enter fully into the poet's feelings, and say

"I do love these ancient ruins :  
We never tread upon them but we set  
Our feet upon some reverend history."

But to stand upon the spot which tradition has marked as the site of some once glorious monastery, and see not one stone upon another still remaining, how can it fail to send a chill to the heart ? It then becomes a double difficulty to rear anew the lost fabric, as well as to people it once again with its erst busy occupants. Such is the case with him who would attempt to write a history of Leeds Priory. Research may enable him to repeople the spot, even though there pass across the scene naught but the *nominis umbra* of the individual ; but without a vestige or a record of the past fabric, imagination is hopelessly at fault.

The name of the little Kentish village, to which this paper relates (lying about four miles east of Maidstone, on the Ashford road), so famed for its still standing Castle of rare grandeur, and its extinct Priory, has in the course of centuries undergone many a change. In *Domesday* it appears as Esledes,<sup>1</sup> then in various char-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. C. Wykeham Martin suggests that the prefix *es* is the abbreviation of the French term *en les*, as indicating that the village took its name from the Castle of *Led*.

ters as Leedys, Ledys, Ledes, Leedes, and finally in its present form of Leeds.

So fully and ably has the history of its noble Castle been traced out by its former owner, Mr. Charles Wykeham Martin, that it were presumptuous to attempt to supplement or add to so complete a work. Passing reference only will be made to it and its several owners, so far as it bears any incidental connection with the special subject of this paper, Leeds Priory.

Walcott, in his *English Minsters* (ii, p. 151), gives A.D. 1137 as the date of the foundation of both Priory and parish church; but Dugdale and Tanner,<sup>1</sup> on the authority of Thorne, the monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, say that that was the year in which the Church was founded; whereas the Priory was nearly twenty years earlier, *i.e.*, A.D. 1119.<sup>2</sup>

The Priory would seem to have always formed a part of the appanage of the Castle, and in all the changes of ownership it found friends among the different families who ruled there. With the Crevequers, to whom the Conqueror granted it on the disgrace of his brother Odo, Bishop of Baieux, it lay for more than a century; but in the troubled reign of Henry III, the then owner, Robert de Crevequer, having sided with the Barons against the King, was forced to surrender it to the King, exchanging what was far too strong a fortress to remain in the hands of doubtful loyalty, with a neighbour more true to the Crown, Roger de Leybourn, who gave in return the comparatively insignificant manors of Flete and Trottesclyve. The Leybourns, however, had but a brief tenure of it. It seemed to be too important a Castle to be, in such disturbed times, in the hands of any subject, so Edward I, by an arrangement with William de Leybourn, Roger's son, obtained possession of it. Edward I, in the sixth year of his reign, conferred it on an influential noble, Bartholomew de Badlesmere, in exchange for the manor of Adresley in Shropshire;<sup>3</sup> but in 1322, Edward II, finding him disloyal, he attacked and recaptured it; from which time it became a royal fortress and occasional resi-

<sup>1</sup> Tanner's *Notitia*, 210; Dugdale's *Mon.*, ii, 110.

<sup>2</sup> Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*, pp. 2166, 2253.

<sup>3</sup> P. R., 6 Edward I, m. 16.

dence ; its guardianship being entrusted to different Court favourites, among whom we find the illustrious William of Wykeham, and Archbishops Arundel and Chichele, as temporary occupants.

The Priory, or Abbey (as it is sometimes called), owed its existence, then, to the Crevequer family so long associated with this manor. This name first appears in the Norman-Latin form of "De Crepito Corde", Anglicised into Creveœur, and even occasionally Crewker (and in balder English into "Croucheart"), but more commonly spelt Crevequer. Hamo de Crepito Corde was a companion of William the Conqueror, who, among other honours, conferred on him this manor with its dilapidated, old Saxon fortress, said to have been constructed by one Led or Leda, a noble of great power and influence in the court of Ethelbert II.

Robert de Crevequer, the son of this Hamo, in conjunction with his own son Adam, founded the Priory of Augustinian Monks on the outskirts of the Castle Park, dedicating it to St. Mary the Virgin and St. Nicholas, and placing in it three monks whom he already had attached to his chapel in the Castle. This number he subsequently increased to eight canons under a Prior,<sup>1</sup> and further benefactions had raised the number to thirteen at the time of its suppression.

As an endowment to it, Robert de Crevequer, the founder, gave, in free and perpetual alms, all the churches on his estates in the neighbourhood, with their advowsons, consisting of Leeds itself and Bromfield, Chatham (Chetham), Rainham (Renham), and Lamberhurst, and, a few years later, Teston (Terstane) and West Farleigh (Farleggha). All these grants were confirmed by his grandson Robert, who added the Mill of Brandescombe ("unum molendinum fullericum, vocatum Brastinum"), and still known as Fullermill, on the stream of the Len, at the west end of the parish.

The Priory soon found other benefactors too. The pious liberality of the Crevequers called forth a kindred

<sup>1</sup> The Convent staff appear to have originated in 1313, and consisted of "W., Prior ; Henricus et Edwinus de Terne, diaconi ; Johannes de Clyve & Thomas de Bereham, sub-diaconi ; & Thomas de Maydestane, acolita." (*Cartæ Ant. Cantuar.*, f. 91.)



spirit among their neighbours. Hugo de Berghestede and his wife Masceline<sup>1</sup> gave to it the church and advowson of Bearsted; Henry de Bocton, those of Bocton Chensi (Boughton Monchelsea) and Gatterste (Goudhurst). From Hamo de Watterinburgh came that of Wateringbury; Fitzwilliam held that of Stockbury; and Simon, the son of Peter de Bourdenne, that of Borden. Nor did the occupancy of the Leybourns, short-lived though it was, pass away without some mark of their presence here. Alianora or Eleanore, the wife of Sir Roger Leybourn, as her unhappy life was drawing to a close, bequeathed to the Priory, evidently on condition of being buried there ("cum suo corpore"), twelve acres of land near Thornham Church; which, however, appears to have soon passed away from them.

Royalty, too, more than once appeared among the liberal benefactors of the Priory while the Castle was in their hands. Edward I added Petham Parva<sup>2</sup> (Little or West Peckham), with a charge of twenty-eight marcs on the manor of Leeds for the support of four canons<sup>3</sup> to celebrate Divine Service daily in the Castle Chapel for the soul of Eleanore his first wife. Then in 1320 Edward II gave them licence "to appropriate to their own use" the neighbouring church of Cherte<sup>4</sup> (Chart), of which they already held the advowson; and two years after, "in recompence for the damage they had sustained at the time of the siege of the Castle", granted to them the Church of Elderomene<sup>5</sup> (?), which he had confiscated from the recalcitrant Castellan, Bartholomew de Bardlesmere, who had refused the Queen admission into the Castle. Another benefaction, made twenty years after by her son Edward III, may be traced to her influence. "At the request of his most dear mother, Isabella, Queen of Eng-

<sup>1</sup> In an undated manuscript charter among the Filmer MSS., referred to in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, iii, 241, it is said that "Emma de Asefelt gave the manor of Berstead "and her corpse" to St. Melna (? St. Maria) and St. Nicholas of Ledes.

<sup>2</sup> Charter Rolls, 14 Edward I, m. 1.

<sup>3</sup> An entry in *Carta Antiqua (Cantuar.)*, f. 177, names "Johannes atte Welle, Petrus de Farlegh, & Robertus de Kingestone", as having been appointed canons of Ledes in 1323.

<sup>4</sup> P. R., 13 Edward II, m. 13.

<sup>5</sup> P. R., 7 Richard II, Pt. i, m. 8. The writer has been unable to identify this parish.

land", so runs the grant, he gave to the Priory the Church of Lederede<sup>1</sup> (Leatherhead), in Surrey, for the support of six canons to celebrate Divine Service daily in the Chapel of the Castle, "for the health of our estate and that of our dear mother"; and in 1364 granted licence to John Stoyl of Maydenstan to assign to the Priory nearly two hundred acres of land in Leatherhead and various parishes in Kent.<sup>2</sup>

Richard II, too, in 1396 gave to the Priory the Church and advowson of Heryetsham<sup>3</sup> (Harrietsham), with the proviso that "a competent portion be made every year for the support of the vicar, and for distribution among the poor parishioners". Then the next year the advowson of Sutton Valence<sup>4</sup> falling to the Crown on the death of Philippa, the wife of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, the King conferred it also, with the Chapel of East Sutton, on the Priory.<sup>5</sup>

Besides these grants there were small charges, called "Pensiones", made upon different manors in the county, such as Oare, Acrise, Ham, Crundale, Estlynge, Mere-worth, East Barming, Vinters in Boxley, Chillingden in Boughton Malherbe, etc.

The right of nomination to the Priory lay originally with the "lord of Leeds Castle", but subsequently was transferred to the Convent, who generally elected one of their own canons, while the jurisdiction was in the see of Canterbury.

In attempting to trace out the succession of the Priors one realises the great loss sustained by the disappearance of a MS. referred to by Tanner, which a century ago was in the possession of the Filmer family at East Sutton Park, entitled "A Leiger Book belonging to the Abbey of Leeds." Hasted also mentions having seen this in 1798, but it was no longer forthcoming to reward the research of the Historical MSS. Commission in 1872.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. R., 15 Edward III, m. 3.

<sup>2</sup> P. R., 38 Edward III, Pt. ii, m. 32.

<sup>3</sup> P. R., 19 Richard II, Pt. i, m. 26.

<sup>4</sup> P. R., 20 Richard II, Pt. ii, m. 2.

<sup>5</sup> These benefactions are nearly all summed up in a "Record of Appropriations" belonging to the Priory, based on a Visitation held by John Leach, Canon of Chichester, acting as Commissary of the Archbishop. (Warham's *Register* (Lambeth), f. 98a, b.)

<sup>6</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Records*, iii, 246.

The absence of all Registers at Lambeth Palace, prior to the time of Archbishop Peckham, and their silence as to any appointment to Leeds before that of Archbishop Sudbury, leave us, with two exceptions, without any clue to even the names of any of the Priors during the first two and a half centuries of the existence of the Priory, *i.e.*, from 1119 to 1379, save that in the year 1264 the Prior (of unknown name) was summoned to the memorable Parliament convened by Henry III to effect the liberation of Prince Edward and the other hostages in the hands of the Barons after the battle of Lewes.<sup>1</sup>

A similar honour may have been conferred on other Priors without the specific mention of the Priory, the official being included under the general head of "Abbat-tes et Priores."

The only two names found during that interval are that of Fulco, occurring on State Papers in the years 1221 and 1228, and that of one William as Prior in 1313. It is not until 1379 that any Prior's name appears in the Archiepiscopal Registers at Lambeth, when we find that of Thomas de Roffa. But during that interval it would seem that the Priory was not in a state of literary stagnation, for among its Canons was one, who, though he was not promoted to the office of Prior, exercised an influence, and imparted a reflected honour on the Priory, in the person of Thomas Hasilwood, who appears among the old chroniclers of England as the author of *Chronicon Compendarium*, and was a teacher in the Priory school early in the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

On the death of Thomas de Roffa,<sup>3</sup> in 1379, Emericus de Edenhalle, described as canon of St. Nicholas, was elected Prior; but of his career nothing seems to be recorded.

The name of Adomarus occurs in a charter as Prior of Leeds in the year 1396, but nothing appears to be known of him.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cl. R., 49 Henry III, m. 2; Dugdale's *Summonses*, etc., p. 1,—  
"Cum ... charissimus filius Edwardus primogenitus noster pro pace in regno nostro assecuranda et firmanda obses traditus extitisset."

<sup>2</sup> Duffus Hardy's *Catalogue of MSS.*, iii, 373.

<sup>3</sup> Archbishop Sudbury's *Register*, f. 62b.

<sup>4</sup> P. R., 19 Richard, Pt. i, m. 26.

The next Prior must have been William de Verdun or Verdon, who appears to have taken a prominent part in a not strictly ecclesiastical *fracas*, having, in conjunction with some of his brethren of the Priory, laid violent hands on one John Stopley, a monk of St. Alban's; and so bitter was the strife between the two houses that it required the intervention of Pope Boniface to restore peace.<sup>1</sup>

After William de Verdun came Thomas Sytyngborn, whose record is more peaceful, and proved more profitable to the Priory, for it was in his time that the churches of Harrietsham and Sutton Valence were added to its revenues, as already noticed, by Edward III, for the support of two additional canons to say masses for the souls of the King and his family, while a third was added by one Nicholas Potyne<sup>2</sup> on behalf of his own soul and that of his wife Alice.

On the death of Thomas Sytyngborn, in 1410, John Surrynden<sup>3</sup> was elected, and remained Prior for nearly forty years, and died in 1447, when he was succeeded by

John Wittersham,<sup>4</sup> of whom nothing appears to be known.

The next name that we meet with is that of Robert Gowdherst, who was Prior in the year 1483, in whose time, as shown by a deed preserved in the Exchequer Treasury,<sup>5</sup> the Convent granted to Edward IV several pieces of land for the enlargement of the park attached to the Castle.

After him came John Bredgar,<sup>6</sup> in whose time the Priory would seem to have been in very straitened circumstances: in Hasted's words, "very poor, and unable to support their usual hospitality." In their difficulties a friend appeared, and munificently came to their rescue. Dr. James Goldwell,<sup>7</sup> who had been born in the neigh-

<sup>1</sup> Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> Archbishop Arundel's *Register*, f. 384b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 125.

<sup>4</sup> Archbishop Stafford's *Register*, f. 26b.

<sup>5</sup> Exchequer Treasury of Receipt, Sc. ii, 65.

<sup>6</sup> Additional Charters (Br. Museum), 8586.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. James Goldwell was educated at All Souls, Oxford, became Archdeacon of Essex, Canon of Windsor, and Dean of Salisbury. He was then selected by Edward IV as Ambassador to Rome, where he acquitted himself so well that by special Bull he was appointed Bishop of Norwich in 1472. He died in 1499. His tomb in Norwich Cath-



bouring village of Great Chart, and who, while rising on the top of the wave of promotion and wealth, never forgot the home of his childhood or its adjoining Priory (for he built a chantry chapel, and restored the tower of his parish church), and among other acts of munificence advanced a large sum of money to the Prior of Leeds to help the Convent in their distress. Finding, however, that they were too poor for him ever to expect to have it refunded, and being, as Hasted puts it, "rather desirous for the health of his soul than for repayment of the money", an arrangement was made with the Prior that one of the canons should be set apart "to celebrate Masses daily at the altar of St. Mary the Virgin in the Priory Church", for the good Bishop's soul. This good Bishop Goldwell was regarded as the second founder of the Priory.

On the death of John Bredgar he was succeeded by Richard Cheetham, whose name appears on divers deeds<sup>1</sup> between the years 1511 and 1523. Dying in the following year, a namesake, and probably a fellow townsman, if not kinsman, Thomas Cheetham,<sup>2</sup> who had also been a "Canon of St. Nicholas", was elected Prior; but he in 1528 gave place to Arthur St. Leger, whose name appears as Prior, signing in 1534 the "Acknowledgment of Supremacy"<sup>3</sup> in favour of Henry VIII and Queen Anne. He was descended from the St. Legers of Ulcombe,<sup>4</sup>—a family of high standing and influence in the county; and this will help to explain his after history. In his loyalty to the Crown he would readily acknowledge the King's supremacy; his loyalty to the Church would prevent his subjecting himself to the humiliation, which he foresaw was impending, of signing the "Deed of Surrender of the Priory",<sup>5</sup> so he seems to have resigned the Priorate, and

dral is in itself conspicuous for beauty, while, to use the language of Dean Goulbourn, "the recumbent effigy of the Bishop furnishes a noble specimen for the study of vestments."

<sup>1</sup> Add. Charters (B. M.), 8598; Cole MSS., xxvi, f. 200.

<sup>2</sup> P. R., 15 Henry VIII, Pt. ii, m. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Exchequer Treasury of Receipt. S. A., ii, 79.

<sup>4</sup> He was the younger son of Ralph St. Leger of Ulcombe. With the Priory of Leeds he held the sinecure rectory of Hollingborne, to which Archbishop Cranmer appointed him in 1537, and was made Canon of Canterbury in 1559.

<sup>5</sup> In such a course St. Leger by no means stood alone. Among

reverted to his former position of Canon, for his name appears in that character in the "Surrender Roll" in Cardinal Pole's book, and as receiving a pension of £16, whereas his successor, Thomas Day, the last of the Priors, retired with a pension of £80 on the surrender he submitted to in 1538.

It may be interesting to notice here what became of the endowments of the Priory on its dissolution. Harrietsham, the last of its grants, had long before passed away from it. Henry VI had conferred it on his favourite, Archbishop Chichele, and he transferred it to his newly founded College of All Souls, Oxford. Leeds itself and Bromfield remained with the Crown till Elizabeth conferred them on Archbishop Parker,<sup>1</sup> while Bearsted, Boughton Monchelsea, Chart, Chatham, Goudhurst, Lamberhurst, Stockbury, Sutton-Valence, Waterringbury, West Farleigh, West Peckham, Woodnesborough, and Leatherhead, were conferred on the new Chapter of Rochester, all the endowments of the original Monastery of St. Andrew having been alienated, the Prior and Canons meanwhile being paid off, or bought out, by small pensions.

Leeds Priory, like all other monasteries, had its seals private and conventual. Of these, some few impressions remain attached to old charters, of which the most perfect impressions are preserved at the British Museum,<sup>2</sup> and are fully described in Mr. W. de Gray Birch's *Catalogue of Ancient Seals*. The arms of the Priory were, according to Dugdale, "*argent*, a cross voided *gules*." The oldest of these seals (probably of the twelfth century) is a remarkably fine, sharp impression (No. 3423), representing the Priory Church, a two-storied building, with transepts; all the windows, three in the body of the church, and one in each transept, round-headed; the central and both side-towers topped with a cross. The

many others there was Clement Lichfield, the munificent Prior of Evesham, who resigned in favour of Philip Hasford rather than sign away the Priory he had so dearly loved, and had so lavishly enlarged and beautified.

<sup>1</sup> P. R., 3 Elizabeth, Pt. xii, m. 8, 13.

<sup>2</sup> One is also among the charters at Canterbury, another in the Augmentation Office, and a third in the collection of Lord Lisle and Dudley at Penshurst. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, iii, 246.)

inscription runs round the whole, in rude Roman character, SIGILLUM LEDENSIS ECCLESIE.

Another cast, of at least a century later, of pointed oval form, probably of a private signet-ring, contains the figure of a mitred abbot raising his right hand in the act of benediction, and holding in his left hand a crozier with the crook turned inwards. The inscription runs thus: SIGILLUM SCRTI (SECRETI) DE LEDENSIS ECCLESIE. The N in LEDENSIS and the final E in ECCLESIE are reversed.

The most imposing seal is that numbered 3425, evidently the official one of the Convent. Of this the impression is fine and bold; but the left side of the field and that portion of the scroll have been broken off. The obverse represents the Virgin seated, crowned, with the Child on her left knee, and a ball or small globe in her right hand. Under the central arch of a rich triple canopy in either side-arch stands an angel with one wing elevated. The canopy itself, pinnacled and crocketed, is supported by curved standards having four stages of panelled niches. In the base, under a low canopy of three circular arches, are three figures, the Prior and two monks, with hands upraised as in prayer. The spandrels of the canopy are filled in with four-arched niches. On the field, on the right, is a castellated building with a cinquefoiled rose above and a drooping lily below. The corresponding device on the left is wanting from the broken seal. Round the whole is the inscription, SIGILLUM COMUNE ECC.; the rest effaced.

On the reverse, under a very similar canopy, between two clerks standing, each holding a book, sits St. Nicholas, the other patron Saint of the Priory, with his right hand raised in benediction, and holding a pastoral staff in his left. In the base, under a plain three-spanned canopy, between two angels, is a tub, in which are seen the heads of three children, in illustration of the miracle reputed to have been performed by the Saint. The inscription on the outer circle, partly destroyed, may be thus read, .. A(NNO DOM)INI M.CC. NONOG' TERTIO; and on the inner circle, on the left hand, the single word NICHOLAUS.

There is also a cast of the signet-seal of one of the later Priors, Richard Cheetham, attached to a charter (No. 3428) bearing date 1519.



It may be interesting here to explain the tradition to which reference is made in the scene depicted in the base of the conventual seal just described. One of the many legendary miracles ascribed to St. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra, is thus narrated by Mrs. Jameson in *Sacred and Legendary Art*, p. 269: "While travelling through his diocese, to comfort and relieve his people during a very severe famine, the Bishop lodged in the house of a certain host who was a son of Satan. This man, in the scarcity of provisions, was accustomed to steal little children, whom he murdered, and then served up their limbs as meat to his guests. On the arrival of the Bishop and his retinue he had the audacity to serve up the dismembered limbs of three unhappy children before the man of God, who had no sooner cast his eyes on them than he was aware of the fraud. He reproached the host with his abominable crime, and going to the tub where their remains were salted down, he made over them the sign of the cross, and they rose up whole and well."

So far has research been rewarded as to the different individuals who have, as benefactors or Priors, been during the four hundred years of its existence connected with the Leeds Priory. When we come to speak of the buildings themselves, of that Priory Church which Philipott, writing within little more than a century of its suppression, describes as having been "a goodly church, parallel to many cathedrals", it is saddening to think that not even

"A nameless column with a buried base"

now rises up to tell where it once stood. Not a column,—though we know the buried base is there; for when this Association held its Congress in that neighbourhood, in the year 1846, the ground had been opened out by that zealous explorer and restorer, Mr. C. Wykeham Martin, the owner of the adjoining Castle, and exposed to view what "appeared to be part of the crypt and foundation of the apse of the Priory Church, consisting of three masses of masonry of a square form (apparently piers) faced with Caen stone, and most correctly worked; the joints being so close that they appeared as if the stones had been rubbed together, and set without cement. In an angle of the work there was a small piscina, and at



another angle the lower part of a small pillar....Nearly the whole of the Priory foundations could be traced. The Caen was as fresh, and the harass-work as sharp, as if only now executed.”<sup>1</sup>

It seems a painfully tantalising retrospect, that when so much was brought to light, the work of further exploring should have ceased; and sadder still, that the part so far laid open should have been all covered in again because the owner shrank from the heavy expense it would entail, having already devoted so large a sum in the restoration of his lordly Castle. It is now only from casual allusions in wills which are in Somerset House that we are enabled to form any conception of the general character or details of this Priory Chapel. Of the rest of the buildings we must remain ignorant unless time should bring to light, from some unexpected quarter, any now lost or hidden particulars.

From these wills<sup>2</sup> we learn that, besides the high altar, which was nearly always remembered for an offering either of devotion or of “conscience money” (under the head of tithes forgotten or withheld), there stood in the north aisle a chapel and altar of St. Katherine; also, in some other part of the church, one of St. Stephen, one of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, and one called “Bryge Chapel” (? St. Bridget’s). The constant bequests of lights would imply the presence of images in different parts. There were lights offered to the Virgin at her “fygure”, to St. James, St. Michael the Archangel, St. Blasius, St. Christopher (of whom a mutilated fresco may still be traced on the south wall), of St. Erasmus too, and St. Dominic.

Of the wills from which these references are taken, that of William de Maidstone is interesting as showing the forms of bequests of those days (A.D. 1419). There are legacies of vestments and copes to the Priory and parish church, “cum orfreyes de panno auro texto, cum uno vase argenti, vocata Holievaterstopp, et uno Holievaterstykke argenti”, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journal*, vol. ii, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Wills,—William Maydestan, 1419 (Marche 45); John Roger, 1490 (Milles, 27); John Reignolde, 1492 (Doggett, 21); Sir W. Portland, 1501 (Fetiplace, 25); Thomas Read, 1515 (Holder, 6); John Lambe, 1558 (Welles, 42); R. Woodruffe, 1515 (Holder, 15).

The will of William Portland, vicar in 1501, describes him as living in "*Villa de bello*", evidently in the present "Battle Hall". That of Thomas Read, of 1515, has also a special interest as the mind of a layman already having a leaning towards the "Reformed Faith", yet not able entirely to divest himself of Mariolatry. Instead of bequeathing his soul to "Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and all the Saints in Heaven", the stereotyped form of the preceding centuries, his will runs thus: "I bequeth my soule to Jesu Cryste, Redeemer of all man-kynde, wich bought it with his precious blood upon the Crosse, and I mekely besech our Blessed Lady Virgin & Moder of Jesu, of her great pittye to present this my poor request unto her sonne Jesu: and in honor of her I bequeth a taper to burne before the fygure of her by side S. Katherine's Auter in the North end of the Yle of the Pryory of our Lady and S. Nicholas of Leedes."

Of monuments, too, so goodly a building would not have been without its fair share. Several of the Crevequer family and Lady Eleanor de Leyburn were buried here, and each would have had a fitting memorial; while the very locality of one raised in his lifetime by Guido de Mone, Bishop of St. David's, is thus described in his will as lying "in the chancel, on the North side, near the High Altar"; and that, erected at a period when monuments were of the most massive and elaborate style, was doubtless worthy of the time and place. But all have long ago disappeared, and "left not a wrack behind". With cruel promptness were the orders of Henry VIII carried out by the St. Legers, on whom he conferred the Priory grounds, that all that once made the Priory glorious was to be demolished; as Philipott says, "it suffered the common calamity of that great tempest of the Dissolution": nay, more so than many of its sister monasteries, for to some few of them were left, though in ruin, traces of their former grandeur. Here all is gone save two small, dilapidated buildings, of which the smaller is called "The Abbey", being only some 20 ft. long by 8 or 9 ft. wide. It may have been some humble out-office belonging to the Priory, but is now used only as a lumber-shed.

At a little distance, on the slope of the adjoining field, stands a larger building, locally honoured by the name

of "The Chapel", though there is nothing to indicate its having been designed or ever used for such a purpose. Its aspect, lying north-east and south-west; its small, square two-light windows, the absence of any east window, all go to refute any such claim. The stonework of the base is certainly suggestive of the twelfth century, but all above the plinth-line is a patchwork of bricks of any period between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. One interesting feature of the building is its north-eastern gable, composed of early brickwork, and rising to a point in saddle-back steps. It was a spacious room with a boldly ribbed roof of oak. An upper floor was introduced probably in the seventeenth century, judging from the balusters of the stairs. Its only use at present is as shelter for hop-pickers in the autumn.

A few fragments of carved stone may be detected built up into the walls in the village. One only relic of interest, and that specially so, is an exquisitely carved niche of geometrical tracery, at present inserted in the wall of a farmhouse in the village, known as "Battle Hall". This was possibly a piscina in one of the chapels of the Priory Church. The bowl, which is the full width of the piscina, is of Bethersden marble. Within the niche is a background of stone, of a castellated design, which seems to be an insertion, and belonging to a later period.

Over the fireplace of an upper room in the same house is a long painting on panel, containing seven figures, the faces of which have been so wantonly scraped off that not a feature can be now traced, the subjects only being identified by their several emblems. In the centre stands the Virgin; on her left hand is St. Katherine with her wheel, then St. Mary Magdalene holding the box of ointment; on the right hand is St. Agatha with the sword passing through her breasts; the outer, on either side, apparently of a monk and a nun, too utterly defaced to be identified. This probably had its place at the High Altar, or in the Lady Chapel of the Priory Church.

Another, and the last, relic of the Priory, a tablet, is to be seen inserted in the wall of the church, recording its foundation (A.D. 1119), and the fact that the tablet itself once had a place in the Priory, and was removed to its present position when the last vestige of the Priory was demolished in 1797.

## DETLING CHURCH, KENT.

BY REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.

(Read 4 Jan. 1893.)

THE little church of St. Martin's, Detling, would probably suggest to the wayfarer along the high-road between Maidstone and Sittingborne nothing more than the thought that it was a very ordinary specimen of a Kentish parish church; certainly picturesquely situated at the foot of the fine range of chalk hills commonly known as the North Downs, surrounded by a belt of lofty elm-trees, and having in the churchyard an exceptionally fine, wide-spreading, well-balanced yew-tree. But a closer inspection will amply repay a visit from the antiquary, for on and within its walls may be read many a page of English history and art.

*Domesday* is silent as to the existence of a church in the days of the Conqueror, but the traces of round arches still to be detected over the present square-headed windows on the south wall indicate the hand of the Norman architect. Moreover, the construction of the south wall, with its blocks of tufa stone in the coign of the eastern angle, and in the wall itself, bear witness to an early date, probably of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

There is documentary evidence, too, of an interesting character, that the little parish had its church so early as the time of Henry III, though it was then, and long after, only a chapel attached to the mother church of Maidstone. In the Plea Rolls of the thirtieth year of that reign (A.D. 1252) a poor woman had been charged with complicity in a murder, and was confined in the Archbishop's Prison in Maidstone, from which she effected her escape, and "found sanctuary" in Detling Church.

The church would then have consisted of what now forms the nave. To it the chancel was, doubtless, added in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the north chapel thrown out soon after by the lord of the manor for the use of the inmates of his manor-house adjoining.



The close of that century no doubt saw the well-proportioned tower rise, with its square-headed window and its shingle spire; possibly a part of the work of the munificent Archbishop Courtenay while he was effecting the great change of converting the mother church of Maidstone from a Rectory into a Collegiate Church. About the same time would have been added the south porch, for the hood-moulding over the door itself would suggest that it had originally been the outside door, especially as over it is a small cusped niche, in which, no doubt, once stood the image of St. Martin, the patron Saint.

Inside the church the antiquary will find many objects of interest. Facing him as he enters the door stands a massive, twelve-sided font, formed out of a block of Kentish ragstone. Whatever designs may have once appeared on its several faces have all been chiseled away. That it has not suffered more is a ground for thankfulness, considering the fact that when a so-called restoration of the church was made some thirty years ago, it was regarded as so cumbrous a piece of the church furniture that it was to be, as far as possible, put out of the way, and was built into the north pier of the tower-arch, on a brick base, under a heavy, projecting western gallery. It is, however, in fair preservation, now supported on five circular shafts, and looks as if it might claim to be, as it probably is, as old as any part of the church.

The next object of interest, in point of age, is the upper portion of the slab of an altar-tomb, which has had a still more narrow escape from destruction, for in throwing out a north aisle about five years ago, in commemoration of the Queen's Jubilee, this slab was found built into the former lean-to wall, lying face downwards, and presenting the appearance of a stepping-stone to a plain but graceful Early English doorway, which had, no doubt, once served as the entrance to the private chapel on the north of the chancel. This slab is of Bethersden marble, and represents the upper portion of the figure of a young, tonsured priest with his hands raised in the attitude of prayer. Its shape, tapering downwards, and its bevelled edges, would mark it as belonging to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. This fragment has now been inserted in the wall of the north aisle. (See opposite page.)

Next in point of time would come a tombstone, also of Bethersden marble, with a still holdly defined matrix of what must have been a gorgeous brass, a richly foliated cross, above 5 ft. high, with the full-length figure of a priest in the centre of the cross; but all the brass, cross, escutcheons, and scroll, have been long since torn away. It evidently belonged to the middle of the fourteenth century. It was discovered partially buried under a seat, and has now been placed on the wall of the vestry, to display its beauty and protect it from further injury.

Allusion has been made to a private chapel on the north side of the chancel. This was evidently added, and connected with the chancel by a wide-spanned arch, about the same period. In it has been preserved a graceful piscina. A very elaborately decorated cross, which once clearly adorned the eastern gable, now stands nearly out of sight, fixed in the floor, but may some day be restored to its original position.



The Priest in Detling Church.

In the arch between this chapel and the chancel still remains an honourable trophy of the chivalry of the knightly family which took its name from the village and manor. Philipott, in his *Villare Cantianum*, says that in his time (1658) "a massie lance, all wreathed about with thinn iron plate, was preserved in the church (like that of William the Conqueror's at Battel in Sussex) as the very spear by them used, and left as a memorial of their achievements in arms, and an emblem also of their extraordinary strength and abilitie". It was probably

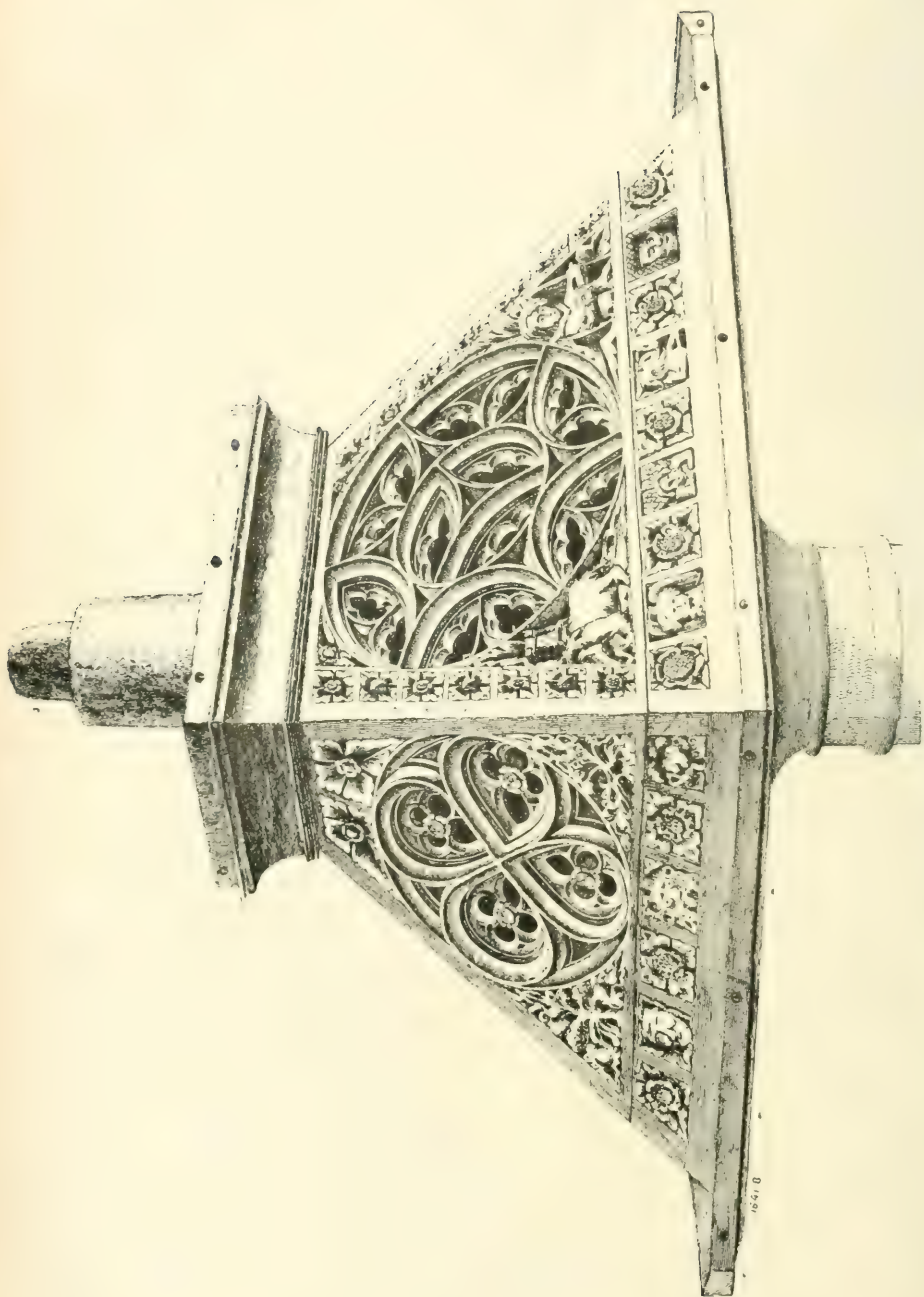
the "William Detlinge" who was appointed by Edward III, in 1348, to be a Collector, in conjunction with his more distinguished neighbour, Robert de Crevequer of Leeds Castle (of the "Aid" which Edward raised when about to confer on his illustrious son, the Black Prince, the honour of the Garter), who had wielded this lance at Crecy under his victorious Prince, and who, on returning from the war, had dedicated it in his church. Hasted, who wrote his History above a century after Philipott, says "there was then no lance, nor even a report of its having been there"; yet in the eastern pier of the connecting arch between the chancel and the chapel is an iron crook embedded in the stone, an object of general wonder as to its possible use, while in the wall-plate on the crown of the arch is an iron staple. May not the two combine to furnish the *raison d'être*, and supply a material corroboration of the truth of Philipott's statement, suggesting that while the point of the lance lay in the staple, its heel rested on the crook?

Another object of historical, though not so directly of local, interest may be mentioned in passing, belonging to the sixteenth century. In the vestry is preserved an original Register-chest, cut out of a solid block of elm, without joint or mortice,—a dug-out; its lid, too, as the grain of the wood shows, sawn off the same block. The existence of such parish chests was due to Thomas Cromwell, who obtained from Henry VIII, in 1538, an injunction that "every parson, vicar, or curate, shall for his church kepe one boke or register, wherein he shall write the daye and yere of every Weddyng, Christeninge, and Buryinge, made within his Parishe.....and for the sauff keepinge of the same boke the Parishe shalbe bownde to provide, of theire common charge, one sure coffer with two locks and keys", one for the parson, and the other for the churchwardens. James I reissued the injunction, adding that a third key should be provided, so that each of the churchwardens should have one. Such a chest, with its third lock added, has been preserved in Detling Church.

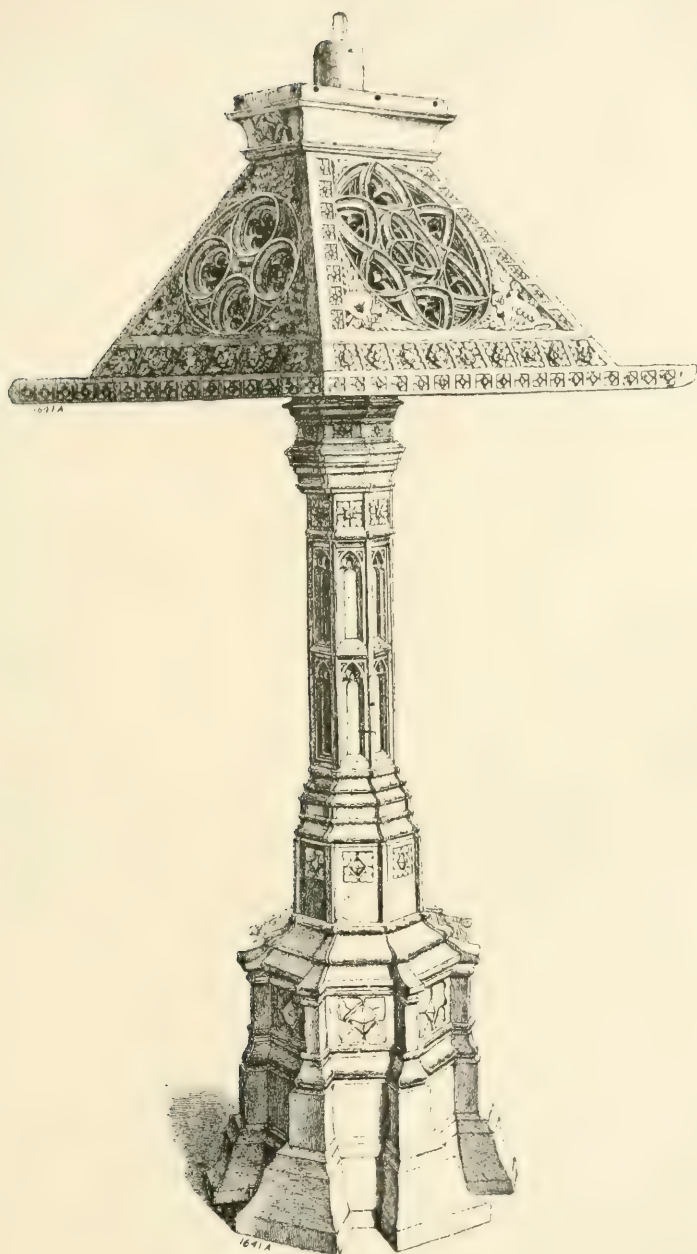
But the principal object of antiquarian interest in the church is what is commonly known as "the Detling Lectern". This is probably a misnomer, as it has been more than once suggested to the writer by high authority, that from its shape it was more probably a music-stand







TOP OF READING DESK AT DETLING CHURCH, KENT.



READING DESK AT DETLING CHURCH, KENT.

Height, 5 ft. 5 in. Width, 1 ft. 10 in. Length, 2 ft. 1½ in.



for some choir than a lectern : a view which is strengthened by the square sockets sunk in each corner of the flat top, as if for lights. Of it Parker, in his *Glossary*, says that it is not only one of the oldest, but also "more ornamented than any others of that period"; while Shaw, in his *Specimens of Ancient Furniture*, calls it a "beautiful specimen, showing the elaborate carving bestowed by our ancestors on what was often covered." It is of oak, four-sided, a parallelogram rather than a square, each side exquisitely carved, each having a separate design equally chaste and elaborate ; the centre being a circle of open-work tracery of richly Decorated type, while the border is composed of a band filled in with figures and roses alternately. Among these figures is that of a female with a square head-dress of hair crossed diagonally by gold threads, and much resembling that on the tomb of Philippa of Hainault, the Queen of Edward III, in Westminster Abbey ; thus confirming the date to which the tracery would assign it. In the lower angles are carved, in relief, a bear and billet, a scorpion, an angel piercing a serpent, and an elephant with a howdah on its back ; all of an Oriental character, and seemingly suggested by traditions of the Crusader days. It was probably once the ornament of some Templar's or Hospitaller's chapel. It has been suggested by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock that it was of foreign rather than English work, especially resembling Nuremburg carving. The finial which once crowned it has disappeared ; only the stem of it remains.

How or when it found its home in this village church is unknown. Neither record nor tradition enlightens us ; suffice it to say that there was a time (not a century ago) when a very practically minded but unappreciating churchwarden actually sold it to make up a deficit in his parish accounts ! and it lay for a short time in the out-house of a marine storekeeper's yard in Maidstone, from whence it was happily rescued and restored to the church ; though still so little was it esteemed, that it was left for years uncared for, and decaying, in the damp side-chapel. It has now been renovated, without a particle of new material, and restored to use as a lectern, and stands in the body of the church, unique in the richness and beauty of its carving,—a relic of which any church may be proud.



## OLD TRADERS' SIGNS IN LITTLE BRITAIN.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

(Read 4 January 1893.)

LITTLE BRITAIN, like every other portion of our great metropolis, has passed through various phases of existence, and witnessed strange vicissitudes of fortune. Here once dwelt the Dukes of Bretagne, the Earl of Peterborough, the Lord Montague, and other noble personages; and for a time it became the home, we might almost say the stronghold, of literature. As early as the reign of Elizabeth we find printers taking up their abode in Little Britain; among others John Audeley or Awdeley, who practised his art here from 1553-76;<sup>1</sup> and the press of Alexander Lacy was in full activity in 1566. In the seventeenth century the booksellers congregated here in great force. The following pertinent passage occurs in Roger North's *Life of the Hon. and Rev. Dr. John North*: "It may not be amiss to step a little aside to reflect on the vast change in the trade of books between that time (*circa* 1670) and ours. Then Little Britain was a plentiful and perpetual emporium of learned authors, and men went thither as to a market. This drew to the place a mighty trade, the rather because the shops were spacious, and the learned gladly resorted to them, where they seldom failed to meet with agreeable conversation; and the booksellers themselves were knowing and conversible men, with whom, for the sake of bookish knowledge, the greatest wits were pleased to converse. And we may

<sup>1</sup> Sir Anthony Fitzherbert's *Book of Husbandry, very Profitable and Necessary for all Manner of Persons*, was "Imprinted at London by John Awdeley, dwelling in Little Brittainne Streete, by Great S. Bartholomewes, 1553", 12mo.

*The Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius, Emperour & Eloquent Oratour*, "Imprynted at Lon. by John Audeley, dwelling in little Brittainne Streete beyonde Aldersgate, 1566", thick 18mo.

*The Fraternitye of Vacabondes*, "Imprinted at London by John Awdeley, dwellinge in little Britayne Streete withoute Aldersgate, 1575."

judge the time as well spent there as (in latter days) either in tavern or coffee-house. But now this emporium has vanished, and the trade contracted into the hands of two or three persons."

Strype,<sup>1</sup> when speaking of Little Britain, says, "This street is well built, and much inhabited by booksellers, especially from the Pump to Duck Lane, which is also taken up by booksellers for old books." But Maitland, writing in 1756, tells us that the booksellers had then wellnigh departed from Little Britain, and he describes Duck Lane as "a place once noted for dealers in old books, but at present quite forsaken by all sorts of dealers."

In spite of all the interest which hangs about this once fashionable and famous locality, no one has yet, I believe, attempted to gather up and tabulate the signs here employed by the old booksellers and other traders, and as a first step towards such a task I venture to submit the few which chance has cast in my way, which, taken in alphabetic order, will begin with our first parents,—

*Adam and Eve*.—This was the sign of Edward Archer, bookseller, in 1655-56. In the latter year was issued the first edition of Middleton and Rowley's comedy of *The Old Law, or a New Way to please You*. Edward Thomas held the premises from 1660-65. One of Thomas' publications was entitled "*A Protestant Picture of Jesus Christ, drawn in Scripture Colours, both for Light to Sinners and Delight to Saints*." By Tho. Sympson, M.A., Preacher of the Word at London. Sold by Edw. Thomas at the *Adam and Eve*, in Little Britain, 1662."

*The Angel* presided over the establishment of T. Helder in the second half of the seventeenth century. The first edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost* was "printed by S. Simmons, and are to be sold by T. Helder at *The Angel* in Little Britain, 1669", and the first edition of R. Noble's *Compleat Troller, or the Art of Trolling*, etc., was "Printed by T. James for Tho. Helder at *The Angel* in Little Britain, 1682."

*The Angel and Bible*.—Dr. W. Charleton's *Two Discourses concerning the Wits of Men & the Sicknesses of*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. of Stow, 1720, B. iii, p. 122.

*Wines* was, in 1692, "Printed for Will. Whitwood at *The Angel and Bible* in Little Britain."

*The Bell*.—Here dwelt John Sprint, bookseller. Dr. Stephen Blacard's *Physical Dictionary* was "Printed for Sam. Crouch at the corner of Pope's Head Alley, near the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, and John Sprint at the *Bell* in Little Britain, 1702." In 1704 J. Nicholson and J. Sprint were two of the sellers of Dr. Benjamin Calamy's *Sermons*, and in 1707 *A General Treatise of Monies and Exchanges*, by a Well-Wisher to Trade, was "Printed for S. and J. Sprint, and J. Nicholson, in Little Britain."

In 1716 *The Compleat Fisher, or the True Art of Angling*, by J. S., was printed for J. and B. Sprint at the *Bell* in Little Britain. This quaint 48mo. measures but 5 by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in.

*The Blue Ball* was the sign, from the commencement to near the close of the eighteenth century, of Samuel Ballard, bookseller and publisher of cheap literature. Among his very early issues we find *The History of George a Green, Pindar, of the Town of Wakefield*, printed for Samuel Ballard at *The Blue Ball* in Little Britain, 1706. Some three years later he gave to the world an octavo volume of songs and poems, entitled *The Garland of Good Will*. In 1716 he, in conjunction with John Nicholson of the King's Arms, published Lawrence Eachart's *Gazetteer's or Newsmen's Interpreter*.

John Dunton, in his singular autobiography, entitled his *Life and Errors* (1705), says Mr. Ballard "is a young bookseller in Little Britain, but is grown man in body now, but more in mind,—

"His looks are in the mother's beauty dressed,  
And all the father has informed his breast."

There is a peculiar interest attached to Ballard, for he is said to have been the last survivor of the many booksellers who once kept shops in Little Britain. He died about the year 1795, in the very house in which he commenced business, having reached, if not exceeded, his hundredth year.

*The Britannia Hotel* seemed an essential establishment in a British quarter, but it is a question if it can boast a very high antiquity. Though the figure of Britannia

appears on Roman money, and was revived on the copper coinage of Charles II, the lady does not seem to have been adopted as a trader's sign at an early period. Both hotel and sign are now swept away, the site being occupied by a portion of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

*The Cock and Bottle* was the sign of a tavern which in the reign of Queen Anne was kept by a Mr. Dixies, and where, on Aug. 3, 1711, Nicholas Hart began his annual slumber of five days and nights, a full narrative of which is given in the *Life and Visions* of the said Hart by William Hill of Lincoln's Inn, and also in *The Spectator* of Oct. 1711.

*The Cock and Crown Tavern*, after a long career, was at length, like the Britannia Hotel, compelled to give place to an extension of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

*The Crown* was the sign of a bookseller named R. Taylor, in 1672, and of Thomas Bentley in 1687; but Taylor reappeared at *The Crown* in 1693. There is a seventeenth century token which displays a crown upheld by two angels, with the legend, FRANCIS TAYLOR, LITTLE BRITTEN. This Francis may have been the father of R. Taylor who flourished at a later period.

*The Dolphin* will ever be remembered as the sign of the shop of Samuel Buckley, the publisher of *The Spectator*, in the first number of which (issued March 1, 1710) the Editor, speaking for himself, says, "as my friends have engaged me to stand in the front, those who have a mind to correspond with me may direct their letters to *The Spectator*, at Mr. Buckley's in Little Britain." Samuel Buckley is spoken of in flattering terms by Dunton.

*The Duck* was the dwelling of Aaron Ward, bookseller, for whom was printed, in 1719, Thomas Crosby's *The London Practice, or an easie, expeditious, Practical Method to determine the Amount of any Quantity at any Price, as compendious and more general and certain than by any Tables heretofore Published*. About the year 1724 Aaron Ward migrated to *The King's Arms*.

*The Flower-de-luce* was the sign of a bookseller named Christopher Hussey, from 1679-85.

*The Globe* was the sign of a bookseller named J. Wright, in 1668.

*The Gold or Golden Ring* was, as early as the last



decade of the seventeenth century, the sign of George Conyers, bookseller. *The History of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome* was "Printed by J. W. for G. Conyers, at the *Golden Ring* in Little Britain, 1697". And some ten years later he was the publisher of *The Garland of Good Will, divided into three parts, containing many pleasant Songs and Poems*.

*The Golden Ball*, or *Reichsapfel*, was a favourite mark with the early German printers, some of whom may have introduced it into London, where it was adopted as a bookseller's sign by R. White, of St. Paul's Churchyard, in 1659, by J. Osborne, of Paternoster Row, in 1740; and distinguished the shop of one of the fraternity in Little Britain, namely, Richard Clutterbuck, from 1637 to 1641, when he removed to the *Gun*. In 1674 George Calvert, another bookseller, was at this sign.

*The Green Dragon* had for master during the reign of George I, J. Wilcox, a bookseller, next to whom lodged, in 1724, Benjamin Franklin and his friend James Ralph. Wilcox was still here as late as 1731.

*The Grey-hound*, in the middle of the seventeenth century, was the sign of John Saywell, who gives a representation of it in the title-page of a work he published in 1655. In 1658 Saywell was the publisher of *Pansebeia, or a View of all Religions in the World*.

*The Gun*, near St. Botolph's Church, figured as the sign of a bookseller in the reign of Charles I. Richard Clutterbuck removed from *The Golden Ball* to this house in 1641, and died in 1648.

*The Head and Bible* combined to form the sign of a bookseller in 1666, one Richard Head, in which year he published *Fair Play on both Sides, or the Surest Way to Heaven. Discovered in a Dispute between a Roman Catholic and a Protestant*. By Samuel Hieron. London, printed for Richard Head, at the *Head and Bible*, in Little Britain, 4to., 18 leaves. This Richard Head is known as a dramatist as well as a bookseller. He died in 1678.

*The Heart and Ball* was the sign of a silk mercer in the reign of Queen Anne.

*The Heart in Bible* was the sign of Richard Head, as we learn from a ballad entitled *The Citizens' Joys for*

*the Rebuilding of London*, printed by P. Lillicross, for Richard Head, at the *Heart in Bible*, in Little Britain, where you may have Mr. Matthews, his approved and universal Pills for all Diseases, 1667". Had Richard Head really two signs so much alike in sound as *The Head and Bible* and *The Heart in Bible*, or is one of them a printer's creation.

*The Holy Lamb* appeared as a sign among the early London printers, and was adopted by a bookseller in Little Britain, who lived near unto Aldersgate Street, John White by name.

*The King* was a bookseller's sign in the early part of the eighteenth century, as we gather from John White's curious work entitled *Hocus Pocus, or a Rich Cabinet of Legerdemain Curiosities, Natural and Artificial Conclusions showing how to Cleave Money, to make Sport with Cats, etc.* "Sold at *The King* in Little Britain", 12mo. N.D.; circa 1715.

*The King's Arms* was, at the close of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century, the sign of John Nicholson. In 1699 the second edition of Abel Boyer's *Compleat French Master for Ladies and Gentlemen* was "printed for R. Sare at Gray's-inn-gate in Holbourn, and John Nicholson at *The King's Arms* in Little Britain." Among other works issued by Nicholson in 1716 was Herman Moll's *Atlas*, containing "42 new Maps", and the second edition of Beaumont's *Psyche, or Love's Mysteries*. From 1724-47, Aaron Ward, late of *The Duck*, dwelt at this sign. In 1724 he published *Expository Notes, with Practical Observations, on The New Testament*, by Rev. Wm. Burkit, M.A. Folio.

*The Looking-Glass* was displayed on London Bridge, in St. Paul's Churchyard, and in Little Britain, about the same period. The following work was issued from this sign, *Patch-Work, or the Comprehension in Four Cantos*. "Printed by Mark'en Merrywise, for Serious Seeker and Company, at the sign of *The Looking-Glass*, in Little Britain." 12mo. This curious poem is undated, but is written in the style of Hudibras.

*The Pelican* was one of the religious signs adopted by the booksellers of Little Britain. Here dwelt William Cooper from 1670-87.

*The Pewterers' Arms* was probably the sign, as well as the device on the token of one S. A., whose wife's Christian name began with an M. Thus reads his large farthing piece: S. M. A. IN LITTL BRITAIN PEWTERER, 1667.

*The Printing Press* is rarely met with as a sign, but in the seventeenth century we find it was adopted as such, for here was produced J. Cotgreave's *Wit's Interpreter; The English Parnassus, or A sure Guide to those admirable Accomplishments that compleat our English Gentry, in the most acceptable Qualifications of Discourse or Writing*. "For N. Brook and Obadiah Blagrove, at *The Printing Press* in Little Britain, 1671." 12mo.

*The Queen's Arms* may have been put up by one bookseller in opposition to *The King's Arms* by a rival in the trade. In 1572 to 1589 it was the sign of William Norton; and as late as 1710 of J. Nicholson.

*The Rabbits and Harrow* suggests the idea that we have here two signs rolled into one. *The Highdutch Minerva a-la-mode, or a perfect Grammar whereby the English may learne the neatest dialect of the German Mother-Language*, was "Printed in Little Britain, and sold at the *Rabbits and Harrow*, 1680."

*The Rising Sun* shone forth as a bookseller's sign for some years in Little Britain. Thomas Ballard carried on his business here as far back as 1702. His stock was sold off in 1720, as we learn from the *Catalogue of a Curious Collection of Choice and Valuable Books in most Languages and Faculties, containing a large Collection of Books of Architecture, Medals, Drawings, and Prints, etc.* "Sold by Auction at Paul's Coffee House on the 16th March 17<sup>20</sup>."

*The Rose and Crown*, one of the well-known old Tudor badges, appears twice as a sign in Little Britain, in one instance as that of a bookseller, in another as that of a taverner. T. Bickerton in 1718, and J. Oswald in 1731, were both booksellers at *The Rose and Crown*.

*The Rose and Crown Tavern* was an old establishment, but the premises were rebuilt about the year 1870.

*St. Paul*, though one of the signs adopted by the old booksellers, did not always indicate the character of the

works they published, for Thomas Randolph's *Aristippus, or the Joviall Philosopher*, was "Printed by Thomas Harper for John Marriott, and are to be sold by Richard Mynns, at his shop in Little Britayne, at the sign of *Saint Paul*, 1630."

*The Star* was a favourite sign with the London booksellers, and was seen in Little Britain in the seventeenth century. The title-page of William Walker's *Idiomatologia Anglo-Latina*, states, "Typis J. Macock, impensis Josephi Clark, sub signo *Stella* in vico vulgo vocato Little Britain, 1673".

*The Surgeons' Arms* was, in 1669, the sign of Daniel Newman, bookseller.

*The Swan and Horseshoe* united to form the sign of a tavern, No. 32, Little Britain. The premises, like the insignia, are of venerable age.

*The Three Flower-de-Luces*. Thomas Sawbridge, bookseller, dwelt under this sign in the second half of the seventeenth century, certainly from 1672 to 1692. The 5th ed. of Hannah Woolley's *Queen-like Closet, or Rich Cabinet stored with all manner of Rare Receipts for Preserving, Candying and Cooking*, was "Printed for R. Chiswel, at the Rose and Crown in S' Paul's Churchyard, and T. Sawbridge at the *Three Flower-de-Luces* in Little Britain, 1684." *Eusebius Pamphilus his Ten Books of Ecclesiastical History, faithfully Translated and Abridg'd from the Original*. By Samuel Parker, Gent., was "Printed for Geo. Sawbridge at the *Three Flowers-de-Luces* in Little Britain", 1703. A year later this George Sawbridge seems to have renamed the old sign, calling it *The Three Golden Flower-de-Luces*. Here, in 1704, George Sawbridge published an edition of Butler's *Hudibras*, and another edition in July 1711, the price of which, we learn from *The Spectator*, was 5s.

*The White Heart*. Moses Pitt kept a bookseller's establishment at this sign in 1670, and we also find him at *The Angel*, in St. Paul's Churchyard, from 1668 to 1684. Pitt gained some fame as the author of *The Cry of the Oppressed, being a True and Tragical Account of the Unparrallel'd Sufferings of Multitudes of Poor Imprisoned Debtors, together with the Case of the Publisher.*" 18mo., 1691.



*The White Horse* was, in the seventeenth century, the sign of a bookseller's shop. And here, in 1699, resided William Bowyer, the printer, as we learn from Nichols' *Lit. Anecdotes*, 1812, vol. i, p. 4.

*The White Horse* has from time out of mind been the sign of the tavern, No. 8, Little Britain. There is a little token, having on it the device of a horse saddled and bridled, with the legend, JOHN PAPWORTH IN LITTLE BRITTAINE HIS HALFE PENNY, 1667, which may have been issued from this old tavern.

*The White Swan* was the sign, in 1703, of a bookseller named J. Pero.

In *The Little London Directory* of 1677, Mr. Goddard is set down as a merchant in Little Britain; and beyond the names of the booksellers and printers, given under their several signs, a few others have descended to us.

Joseph Martyn's *New Epigrams and a Satyre*—"Est quoddam prodice tenus, se non datur", was "Printed by G. Eld, dwelling in Little Britain, 1621." Quarto. Milton, after he became blind, lodged for a while here in the house of Millington, a dealer in old books, who subsequently became an auctioneer of some eminence. Dunton, in his *Life and Errors*, 1705, speaks of John Burroughs, "a very beautiful person, and perhaps as well qualified to make an Alderman as any bookseller in Little Britain." Burroughs was Clerk to the Stationers' Company in 1652, and resigned in 1662. Roger North, in the *Life of his Brother*, Dr. John North, records that Robert Scott of Little Britain "was in his time the greatest Librarian in Europe". In 1682 Scott was in partnership with Awnsham Churchill, at *The Black Swan* near Amen Corner, Paternoster Row. R. Hayhurst was another of the seventeenth century publishers, as is shown by a broadside entitled *King William's Blessed Deliverance and England's Joyful Preservation, with a Farewell to King James, upon the Happy Discovery of the late Horrid Jacobite Plot*. "Printed by J. Dover, 1696. Sold by R. Hayhurst in Little Britain. Price 2d."

## OLD TRADERS' SIGNS IN DUCK LANE.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

(Read 18 Jan. 1893.)

BOTH Strype and Maitland couple Duck Lane with Little Britain in their notice of the latter locality, and there was undoubtedly a strong literary bond binding the two places together; but whilst several publishers dwelt in Little Britain, "the Lane" was chiefly occupied by dealers in second-hand books, though a few exceptions to the rule will be found in the following list of signs.

*The Angel* was to be seen here, as well as in Little Britain, during the seventeenth century. It was the sign of Thomas Slater in 1646, and of William Thackeray as late as 1692, both of whom were publishers. A large number of ballads and chap-books issued from Thackeray's establishment, among others may be mentioned *The Shepherd's Prognostication for the Weather*. "London, Printed for Will. Thackeray, in Duck Lane, near Smithfield, 1673"; and *The Husbandman's Practice, or Prognostication for Ever, as teacheth Albert Alkind, Haly, and Ptolemy, with the Shepherd's Perpetual Prognostication for the Weather*. "London, printed for Will. Thackeray, in Duck Lane." N. D., 12mo. He was also the publisher of Edward Forde's *Famous, Delectable, and Pleasant History of Parismus, the most renowned Prince of Bohemia*. "Printed by J. Mills for W. Thackeray, at the sign of *The Angel*, in Duck Lane, 1689." J. S.'s *Epitomy of Ecclesiastical History* was "Printed by J. Mills, for W. Thackeray, at *The Angel*, in Duck Lane, and J. Back, at *The Black Boy*, on London Bridge, 1692."

*The Bible* was the sign of William Shrewsbury, some of whose publications bear date 1682.

*The Black Raven* was the sign of George Conyers, bookseller, in 1684, whom we have already heard of at *The Golden Ring* in Little Britain.

*The Black Spread Eagle* was the sign of J. Hardesty in 1652, as is shown by works then and there sold.

*The Crown* was adopted by a bookseller as his sign as early as 1652 : a strange emblem to set up during the Commonwealth. William Nealand succeeded to *The Crown* about the year 1660. Isaac Barrow's edition of *Euclid's Elements* was "Printed by R. Daniel for William Nealand, bookseller in Cambridge, and are to be sold there, and at *The Crown* in Duck Lane, 1660." Nealand was still here in 1662.

*The Crown* was also the sign of a tavern, one room of which was painted by Isaac Fuller with figures of the Muses, Pallas, Mars, Ajax, Ulysses, etc. Ned Ward, in his *London Spy*, praises these pictures highly. He says, "The dead figures appeared with such lively majesty that they begot reverence in the spectators towards the awful shadows." The painter died in 1672.

*The Golden Ball* was held by M. Boddington, bookseller, from circa 1696 to the early part of the eighteenth century. The 19th edition of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was "Printed for M. Boddington, at *The Golden Ball*, in Duck Lane, 1718." Soon after this date J. Clarke succeeded to the sign and business. Some of the latter's publications are dated 1724. In 1738 he issued the 25th edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and he certainly continued in the trade as late as 1743, when the Rev. Arthur Bedford's *Horæ Mathematicæ Vacuæ, or a Treatise of the Golden and Elliptick Numbers*, was "Printed for J. Clarke, at *The Golden Ball*, in Duck Lane, near West Smithfield, 1743."

*The Golden Bell* was the sign of William Whitwood, bookseller, in 1671, who had previously kept shop at *The Golden Lion*.

*The Golden Lion*. Here resided William Whitwood, when he set up as a bookseller in Duck Lane, in 1668. In 1671, he had removed to *The Golden Bell*.

*The Hand and Bible* was the sign of a bookseller here as early as the reign of Charles I. Daniel Cartarite was living at this sign in 1641, and R. Skelton in 1659.

*The Queen's Head and French Horn* tavern is the only house in this locality that displays a sign. Both premises and sign date back to olden times.

*The Swan* was the first place of business of Thomas Slater, who published works as early as 1637 ; in less

than ten years after this period we find him at *The Angel*.

Swift, though at his own expense, has a kick at Duck Lane ; he says :

“ Some country-squire to Lintot goes,  
Inquires for Swift in verse and prose ;  
Says Lintot, ‘ I have heard the name,  
He died a year ago.’—‘ The same.’  
He searches all the shop in vain.  
‘ Sir, you may find him in *Duck Lane* ;  
I sent them with a load of books  
Last Munday to the pastry-cook’s.”

The dealers in second-hand tomes, as well as the publishers of new works, have long since fled from Duck Lane, and this old title has been changed into Duke Street. Little Britain does indeed keep possession of its ancient appellation through all its vicissitudes of fortune. Its old traders have returned to Mother Earth, their successors have sought and found new homes, and nearly all its once honoured signs have vanished. But come what will, Little Britain, and its next neighbour Duck Lane, ought ever to be remembered with a certain amount of reverence and respect in the world of literature.

“ Little Britain, once so noble,  
All thy glory’s pass’d away ;  
Not a bookman now remaineth  
To literature to lend a ray.  
Thou of yore wert nest of learning ;  
Tome on tome the wise might find :  
Some were dog’s-eared, thumb’d and soiled,  
Some had suffered in the bind.  
Still in them deep thought yet dwelleth,  
Thought of divine, poet, sage.  
Heed not then discoloured paper,  
But the subject of each page.  
Duck Lane, too, was nigh unto thee,  
There, too, many bookmen dwelt ;  
And in spite of dust and rubbish,  
Then for thee a love was felt.  
Duck Lane, thou art quite forgotten  
Fame hath faded into air ;  
Few for thee, ’mong *literati*,  
Cherish thought or cherish care  
Graceless varlet who forgetteth  
Little Britain and Duck Lane ;  
Both in time have served good purpose,  
Both existed not in vain.”



## THE VILLAGE AND CHURCH OF BEDFONT, Co. MIDDLESEX.

BY ERNEST ARTHUR EBBLEWHITE, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read 15 Feb. 1893.)

THE parish of Bedfont lies within the Hundred of Spelthorne, being situated on the great Western road, about equidistant from Hounslow and Staines. The nearest railway station is at Feltham, on the London and South Western (loop-line), a distance of about two miles. "With its long village-green and ponds, both bordered with fine elms and other trees, and its irregular string of houses and cottages, retreating so gracefully behind their gardens, on either side of the road, it has a quaint and primitive air which would hardly lead one to believe that he is within thirteen miles of the great metropolis."<sup>1</sup> The album of *photographs* which I now exhibit contains an unpublished series in illustration of my subject. *The first* shows the cottages and trees on the south side of the Common, with the present village inn in the middle background. *The second* view is that of the duck-pond, with a distant view of the church and churchyard from the east. The vicarage can be distinguished among the trees at the back of the church, while the modern house on your left (happily in keeping with its neighbour) occupies the site of the once famous inn and posting-house "The Black Dog". The London coaches made this their stopping place in their journey along the highroad, and Rowlandson has left us a most interesting print of the house. It was at one time kept by Mr. Harvey, whose reputation is dear to epicures, as the inventor of the famous fish-sauce. Colman, in his *Random Recollections*, speaks of

"Harvey, whose inn commands a view  
Of Bedfont's church and churchyard too;  
Where yew-trees, into peacocks shorn,  
In vegetable torture mourn."

The parish of Bedfont is bounded by Feltham on the

<sup>1</sup> Edward Walford, M.A., *Greater London*.

east, by Cranford and Heston on the north-east, by Harlington on the north, by Harmondsworth on the north-west, Stanwell on the west, and Ashford on the south. It contains about 1,200 acres of land, and the soil is chiefly light gravel with loam. The population is under two thousand. In a field between this village and Feltham have been discovered quantities of Roman coins, urns, and bones, with the vestiges of some barrows of uncertain date.

The name of this parish in ancient records was written BEDEFUNDE and BEDEFUNT. It is sometimes called East Bedfont, to distinguish it from West Bedfont, a hamlet of Stanwell. Singularly enough, it was also somewhat generally called Belfound in the last century. In the reign of Edward the Confessor the manor of East Bedefunde, or Bedefunt, was the property of Azor, and the land was valued at £6. He held eight and a half hides, as within the jurisdiction of Stanwell, while the remainder, consisting of one hide and a half, was divided between three socmen. One socman was King Edward's servant, another the servant of Lewin, and the third of the same Azor. The last socman also held one hide absolutely, as it was not then part of the manor. At the Domesday Survey, one Richard held the manor under Walter Fitz-Other, and it was assessed as ten hides. The record shows that there were five carucates, namely, one in demesne, and the other four held by the freeholders and villans. There were four villans who held one hide jointly, four others with each half a virgate, and three bordars holding thirteen acres, while "a certain Knight" had two hides. "There is a meadow", says the Survey, "equal to two oxgangs and pasture for the cattle of the manor." Here, then, is an authentic record of the same village-green, as shown in the last picture, over nine centuries ago. It is curious to note how the Norman invasion had affected the value of this land, for what was £6 in the Confessor's time became 20s. at the Conquest, though it rose to £4 for the *Domesday*.

In the eighth year of King Edward III, as appears by membrane 7 of the Patent Roll, the manor was granted by John de Neville to the Priory of Hounslow, but, at the dissolution of the monasteries by King Henry VIII,

it reverted to the Crown, in whose hands it remained for about sixty years. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was in the tenure of Robert Downes, Esq., and it appears (from the Patent Roll of the 41st of Elizabeth, and Chancery Bills and Answers, James I, s. 19, 40) that in 1599 the Queen granted the lordship to Michael Stanhope, Esq., afterwards Sir Michael Stanhope, of Sudbury in the county of Suffolk, Knight. By the marriage of Elizabeth, the second daughter and coheir of this Sir Michael, with George, eighth Baron Berkeley, Knight of the Bath, it passed into the family of Berkeley, until in the year 1656 George Berkeley, Esq. (afterwards first Earl of Berkeley), the eldest son of this marriage, sold the manor of Bedfont to Algernon, tenth Earl of Northumberland, Knight of the Garter, who died in October 1668, from whom it has descended to the present proprietor.

There is another manor, that of Pates, or Paites, in this parish, which in the Confessor's time was within the manor of Feltham, and valued at 20s. a year. It was then held by one of Earl Harold's domestic servants named Goati, who could dispose of it as he wished. The same property (consisting of two hides) at the Conquest belonged to the King's half-brother Robert, Earl of Mortain in Normandy, and Earl of Cornwall. The land was one carucate, of which only one-half was cultivated, and the estate was valued at 5s. per annum, a decrease of 15s. since King Edward's reign. Within the same manor, according to *Domesday*, were eight acres held by a villan, and half a hide in the tenure of a certain knight, while there was a meadow equal to one oxgang and pasture for the cattle.

In 1338 William de Odiham gave what I take to be the same estate, consisting of about 100 acres, to the Priory of Hounslow, together with certain quit-rents (Esch., 12th Edward III, No. 38). In the reign of Henry VII, about 1498, it was in the tenure of John Naylor and Clemence his wife, who probably held it by a quit-rent under the Priory; and they had an only daughter and heir who became the wife of Thomas West.

Edmund West, the only son of the marriage of the said Thomas, had two daughters and coheirs,—Elizabeth, wife

of John Bokenham, and Margaret West, and in the year 1549 these ladies executed a joint sale of the manor to Rowland Page of Bedfont. From the similarity of the arms used by Rowland's representatives (to whom I shall subsequently refer) to those entered in an early Bedfordshire Visitation of the Heralds,<sup>1</sup> I would suggest that Rowland Page, of the manor of Pates, was son of John Page, of the City of London, Esq., and younger brother of Richard Page of Arlesey in the county of Bedford, and of kin to the old family of Page of Harrow-on-the-Hill. Mr. Paul Garway of Tingereffe (Tingrith), in Bedfordshire, who died in 1619, married Alice, daughter of John Page of Bedfont.

In Queen Elizabeth's time the manor had passed to Thomas Page of Bedfont, who sold two-thirds in 1589 to John Draper, and the remainder, four years later, to Philip Gerard for £260. At the death of John Draper his relict and executrix, who had remarried Edmund Pigeon, transferred the two parts in 1614 to Edward Hewlet, Esq., for £530. Seven years later the latter bought the remaining third from Henry Bell, William Bell and Anne his wife, who had obtained it from the before-mentioned Philip Gerard in 1594 for £320.

In the twentieth year of King James I, Mr. Hewlet gave the whole property to the Governors of Christ's Hospital, and Pates Manor House, or "The Old Farm", as it is called, is now held on lease by Mr. Sherborn from the Hospital. It is most likely that further details of much interest may be obtainable from the records of Christ's Hospital.

It appears that the wealthy Priory of Hounslow also held the manor of Hatton in this parish, for, in the last year of Edward III, a licence was issued for a chantry in the chapel of the manor-house of Hatton Grange (Patent Roll, 50 Edward III, pt. 2, memb. 4). It subsequently became attached to, and is now held with, the manor of East Bedfont. The landed property in Hatton is thus described in the Survey of *Domesday*:—"Roger, Earl of Arundel, holds a hide and a half in Hatone in the hundred of Spelthorne. The land is one carucate; there

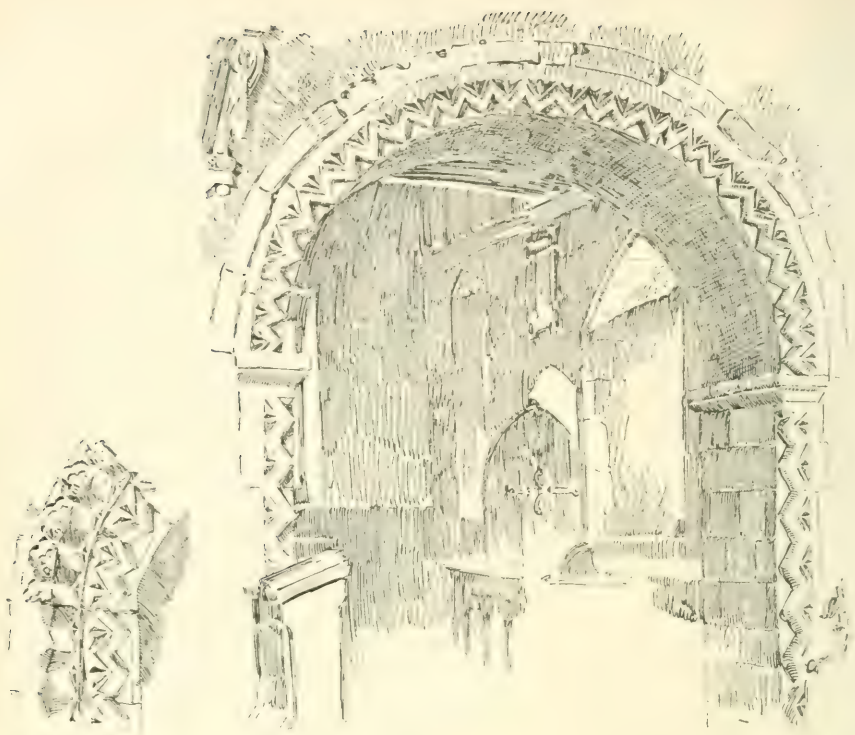
<sup>1</sup> See also F. A. Blaydes' *Genealogia Bedfordiensis*.



are two villans; the meadow is equal to one carucate. This estate is valued at 15s., and in the reign of King Edward the Confessor it was valued at 20s. Two socmen then held it, they were servants of Albert de Lotharia, and could dispose of it as they pleased. This estate is now an appendage to the manor of Colham, which it was not in the reign of King Edward. Walter de Macedont holds a hide, three virgates, and the third part of a virgate in Hatone, of Walter FitzOther. The land is one carucate, half of which only is in culture. There is one villan who holds a virgate, two others who hold a virgate jointly, and one bordar who holds five acres. The meadow-land is equal to one carucate. There is pasture for the cattle of the manor. This estate is valued at 20s., and in the reign of King Edward the Confessor at 30s. Two socmen, servants of Azor, then held it, but could not alienate without his licence."

The parish church of Bedfont, which in my *third photograph* is viewed from the south, is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Though but a small structure it is remarkable for several purely Norman features; but its interesting wooden tower and dwarf steeple (as represented in the engraving of Bedfont Church, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1825) have been replaced by modern work. The tower and low spire were originally at the west end, but my *fourth photograph* (which gives a clear view of the west door and of the churchyard) almost makes them the central feature of the fabric, by reason of the modern extension. Though from an archaeological point of view the present western end is not an improvement, it has the double advantage of being somewhat in keeping with the rest, and of giving important additional space for the congregation. Another piece of so-called "restoration" work, behind the church on the north, is a spacious transept in the "Churchwarden" style, but this is an absolute excrescence, and I have carefully abstained from obtaining its "counterfeit presentment". To make matters worse, this offshoot, in which are the gallery and small organ, with seats for the choristers, has recently been decorated with paper in imitation of stained glass. To the left of my *seventh photograph* are the pillars supporting this bastard architecture.





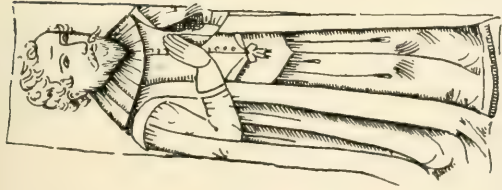
CHANCEL ARCH AND FRESCO, BEDFONT CHURCH.

The interior consists of a chancel and nave, between which is a beautiful arch with zig-zag mouldings, a perfect specimen of Norman work of the twelfth century. The south porch has a similar ornamented and round-headed doorway, which, although not so well preserved as the other, is of more interest from its having a double moulding, *i.e.*, one zig-zag arch within another of bird's-beak. One or two of the voussoirs have been restored in a very creditable manner. Similar Norman doorways are in the neighbouring church of Harmondsworth. On the north side of the chancel is a small lancet window, with an early piece of stained glass in pale amber and grey. On the chancel wall, near the altar, is a brass tablet to the memory of the Rev. John Goodwin, who died 1752, and of Matthew Goodwin, gentleman, who died 1753, put up by Margaret, daughter of John Goodwin, and wife of Francis Sherborn. The Sherborns, who act as the lay rector, still sit on the south side of the chancel, while the sittings on the left were formerly those of the Page family. Behind the latter, on the north wall, is an Elizabethan shield carved in stone with the following arms: *Azure*, a fesse wavy between three lions passant *or*; and for crest, out of a mural coronet *azure*, a lion's head erased *or*, being the armorial bearings of John Hawes of Ipswich, gentleman, who married Anne Page. On the same wall is a brass, which, prior to the restoration of the church in 1865, was on the floor of the chancel, thus inscribed:—"Here lyeth y<sup>e</sup> body of Mathew Page, Gent., who deceased y<sup>e</sup> first of Febr<sup>y</sup> An'o D'ni 1631, Together with his loving mother Isabell Page, who dyed y<sup>e</sup> 9 of Janv<sup>ry</sup> An'o 1629. Which Mathew gave at his decease to y<sup>e</sup> poore of this parishe y<sup>e</sup> somme of twenty pound for ever, being aged 37." This is a very fine example of a monumental brass of that date; there are two figures over the lettering, but I will not stop to describe their costumes, as this photograph of the rubbing I took so clearly shows their detail.

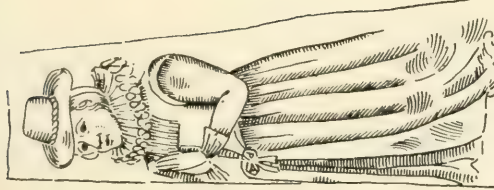
Lysons mentions a monument on the chancel-floor to the memory of Francis Page, 1678. And it has been ascertained from the testimony of eye-witnesses that it remained there until 1865, when, during the alterations.



it was put into the churchyard, without a faculty having been obtained from the Bishop of London. It was, in fact, believed that the Page family had become extinct, until five years ago, when it was proved, to the satisfaction of the Herald's College, that the deceased (through his second son, Colonel John Page of York county, Virginia, one of the Colonial Council for William and Mary) was the ancestor of the distinguished Page family of the United States. The marble slab is now placed against the east wall of the churchyard, and the inscription is still legible, though I found the lower portion (forming the great link in the pedigree) buried in the earth:—"A vertuous life & good old age perfumed the memory of Francis Page, Ob<sup>d</sup> Oct<sup>o</sup> 13 Anno Dom<sup>i</sup> 1678, et *Ætatis* svæ 84. Ex dono Johannis Page filij eius de Comitatu Ebor' in Uirginia mercatoris." Arms: *Azure*, a fesse dancettée between three martlets (or "swallows", for feet are shown) *or*, a bordure of the last. Crest: A demi-horse forcenée, per pale indented *or* and *azure*, maned gold. Francis Page of the "perfumed memory" was a brother of the Mathew Page whose brass I have shown, and a member of the Page family before referred to as connected with Pates. The slab was formerly an important feature of the church. I should like to mention that a similar slab was evidently executed by the same sculptor thirteen years later, and shipped to Virginia (there being then no monumental masons there), where it was erected to Colonel John Page, who had given the order for this stone at Bedford, and who died 1691. I exhibit a wood-engraving and a sculptor's sketch of the stone in Virginia. A handsome facsimile in brass, and another brass recording the circumstances, both set in a slab of Derbyshire "bird's-eye" fossil, were placed by me on the site of the displaced slab at the instance of Dr. Page (who is eighth in descent from Francis Page), on the 15th May 1889. The lower inscription reads: "The original marble slab having been removed from this spot, and placed against the East Wall of the Churchyard during the Restoration of this Church in 1865, this Brass to the Memory of his Ancestor, was placed here at the instance and cost of Richard Channing Moore Page, M.D., of New York, in 1889."



HERE LYETH Y<sup>e</sup> BODY OF MATHEW PAGE  
GENT WHO DECEASED Y<sup>e</sup> FIRST OF FEBR<sup>y</sup>  
ANO DNI. 1631. TOGETHER WITH HIS  
LOVING MOTHER ISABEL PAGE WHO DYED  
Y<sup>e</sup> 9 OF JANV<sup>y</sup> ANO: 1629. WHICH MATHEW  
PAGE GAVE AT HIS DECEASE TO Y<sup>e</sup> POORE  
OF THIS PARISHE Y<sup>e</sup> SUME OF TWENTY  
POUND FOR EVER. BEING AGED 77



A VERTUOUS LIFE & GOOD OLD AGE  
PERFYMED THE MEMORY OF FRANCIS PAGE

O<sup>o</sup> OCT<sup>o</sup> 13 ANNO DOM<sup>i</sup> 1678

ET ÆTATIS SVÆ 84.

EX dono Johannis Page filij eius de  
Cemitatu Ebor<sup>i</sup> in Virginia Mercatoris.

This is a copy of the original inscription on the brass plate for the Middle Church, York, in the R. Division of the Church, in 1865. The brass plate was found in the church in 1865. The inscription is in Latin and is a record of the death of Francis Page, who died on October 13, 1678, at the age of 84. The inscription is a record of the death of Francis Page, who died on October 13, 1678, at the age of 84.



In the churchyard, close to the chancel-door, is an altar-tomb, under the shade of a large yew-tree, with an inscription to Mary, widow of James Whaley of York County, Virginia, Gentleman, granddaughter of Francis Page of Hatton in Bedfont, who died 31st January 1742. Besides the aforesaid Colonel John Page, Francis Page of Hatton in Bedfont had another son, Robert Page of Hatton, who was living in 1686.

A pair of trim and formal yew-trees cut into the shape of peacocks form an arch over the south door. I have already quoted Colman concerning them. The cropped foliage bears the date 1704, and the initials of the churchwardens for that year. I am told that they are kept clipped under the terms of a curious will of a Bedfont parishioner. It is believed that they were then first cut in their present hideous form, and that they must have taken over one hundred years to attain to the fulness required by the Dutch gardener; the trees, therefore, must date from the Stuarts.

“Where erst two haughty maidens used to be,  
In pride of plume, where plummy Death hath trod,  
Trailing their gorgeous velvets wantonly,  
Most unmeet pall, over the holy sod:  
There, gentle stranger, thou mayst only see  
Two sombre peacocks. Age, with sapient nod  
Marking the spot, still tarries to declare  
How once they lived, and wherefore they are there.”

(Thomas Hood.)

“The local tradition is that these trees represent satirically two sisters who lived at Bedfont, and who were so very haughty that they both refused the hand of some local magnate, who thus immortalised them, being ‘as proud as peacocks’. This, however, is a legend only.<sup>1</sup> On the chancel wall, under an armorial achievement, viz., *sable*, three hounds courant *argent*, on a chief *or* a fox courant *gules*; and for crest, a demi-fox *gules* billettée *or*, is an inscription to Thos. Weldish, Gent., who married Priscilla, daughter of Richard Gorham of Kent, and had issue two sons and six daughters, viz., Thomas, William, Ellen, Alice, Elizabeth, Mary, Matilda, and Mary. He died 19th December 1640.

At the north-east angle of the nave, near the chancel arch, is a double recess behind the reading-desk. Beneath

<sup>1</sup> Edward Walford, M.A., *Greater London*.



the plaster two frescoes of the latter part of the twelfth century have recently been discovered, one representing the Crucifixion and the other the Last Judgment. In each case the principal subject is surrounded with angels and conventional designs, and I regret that it was not possible to obtain a better photograph. The colour used was a sort of Venetian red. The original form of the arched recesses has been preserved, but the pillar is palpably restoration-work, and is too bright and new-looking. No doubt the chantry altar was originally placed here, the frescoes forming the reredos. The figure of Our Lord, in the Judgment fresco, has a smudge over one eye, deliberately done with a brush. The vicar suggested that He is "winking" at the offences of man.

In the south-east corner of the nave, behind the pulpit, which is quite a modern structure, is a small recess which contains a sort of seat or step in stone, and was originally intended to lead to a rood-loft.

The Rectory of Bedfont was given by John de Neville to the Priory of Hounslow before 1316,<sup>1</sup> being valued at ten marks *per annum*; and in that year the vicarage was ordained. At the Dissolution, Percival Broadbelt was the lessee, and in 1590 the Crown gave it to the Bishop of London. The Parliamentary return of 1650 states the parsonage to be worth an annual £80, and mentions another parsonage held by worthy Francis Page to be worth £30.

There is no register of baptisms or marriages prior to 1695, or of burials prior to 1678, one of the first entries being that of Francis Page's burial. In 1548 there were eighty "houslying" folk in Bedfont, as appears by a chantry roll in the Augmentation Office, which also mentions an acre of arable land belonging to the parish, though nothing was known of the gift or its purpose.

In the preparation of this sketch I have made use of certain notes I put together for my friend Dr. Richard Channing Moore Page, of New York, in 1889, which have never before been published, and which I have rearranged, with some additions, for your consideration this evening. I must also acknowledge that I am indebted to the 1800 edition of Lysons for some of the details and references.

<sup>1</sup> *Inq. ad quod damnum*, 8 Edward II. No. 122.

## THE ANCIENT CHURCH IN WALES.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.

*(Read 5 April 1893.)*

AT the present time, when attention is specially directed to that portion of the Anglican Church which is situate in the Principality of Wales, and when misleading and erroneous statements are made as to its history and the position it occupies, it may be worth while to engage your attention for a short time this evening with a few facts concerning its origin and ancient history ; avoiding any topics of polemical or political controversy as not coming within the scope of our deliberations.

There is no reliable information which enables the historian to fix the exact time when Christianity was first preached in Britain and by whom. There are certain traditions which have found favour with the old chroniclers, but they have adopted them tentatively rather than positively. It is said that about the year A.D. 53, Joseph of Arimathea, being sent by Philip the Apostle, after the Christians were dispersed out of Gallia, came into Britain and preached the Gospel there among the Britons, and converted many of them to the true faith, and that he continued there all the residue of his life, obtaining of Arviragus a plot of ground four miles from Wells, and there laid the first foundation of Christianity, in which place was afterwards erected the Abbey of Glastonbury.

Nicephorus writes<sup>1</sup> that Simon Zelotes came into Britain, and Theodoretus ("De curandis Græcorum affectibus") shows that St. Paul being released of his second imprisonment, and suffered to depart from Rome, preached the Gospel to the Britons ; and Sophronius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, witnessed to the same effect. Tertullian, also writing of these times, says : "Those places of the Britons to which the Romans could not approach were subject unto Christ. Thus it may appear that the

<sup>1</sup> Bk. ii, c. 4.

Christian religion was planted here in this land shortly after Christ's time : although it certainly appeareth not who were the first to preach to the Britains, nor whether they were Greeks or Latins."<sup>1</sup>

Arviragus is supposed to be the same person as Tacitus calls Prasutagus, a King of Britain, and is mentioned by Juvenal as Arviragus. He was the youngest son of Cymbeline, and was admitted King of Britain or of the Iceni, A.D. 45 or 46. He was besieged by Claudius in Winchester, and made a treaty of peace with him, a condition of which was that Claudius should give his daughter Genissa to Arviragus in marriage, and Arviragus should acknowledge that he held his kingdom of the Romans. It is, however, doubtful whether his marriage with Genissa ever took place. He is stated to have embraced the Christian faith, and to have been the possessor of the Roman villa discovered at Chedworth some years ago ; and it is worthy of notice that tiles have been found among the ruins of that villa bearing the Christian symbol of the Chi-Rho.

Arviragus died A.D. 73, and was buried at Gloucester, and was succeeded by his son Marius, who died A.D. 78, and was buried at Carlisle, leaving a son behind him named Coil or Coillius, who was made King of Britain A.D. 125. He was brought up among the Romans at Rome, and is said by some to have made the town of Colchester. He reigned fifty-four years, and died at York, leaving a son named Lucius, who succeeded him in the kingdom in A.D. 180, and who is said to have been the first King of Britain who openly professed the Christian religion. The evidences of a very early introduction of Christianity into Britain have been traced by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, in a paper he read at the Tenby Congress, entitled " Evidences of the Extent of the Ancient British Church", which is printed in our *Journal* (vol. xli, p. 53), and also by our late Vice-President, Mr. J. W. Grover, in his paper on " Pre-Augustine Christianity in Britain," also printed in vol. xxiii of our *Journal*, p. 221. I will, therefore, avoid going over this ground again, especially as my object is to trace, not so much the introduction of Christianity into

<sup>1</sup> Hollinshead's *History of Britain*.

Britain, as its development into the concrete form of a Church Establishment and its relation with the Civil Government of the country.

The story of Lucius having been converted to Christianity, and having applied to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, to send him some ministers to instruct him and his people in the true faith, is thus stated in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: "A. 167.—This year Eleutherius succeeded to the Popedom, and held it fifteen years; and in the same year Lucius, King of the Britons, sent and begged baptism of him, and he soon sent it to him, and they continued in the true faith till the time of Dioclesian."<sup>1</sup>

This legend was introduced by Bede in the eighth century, and expanded by Nennius in the ninth century into the conversion of the whole of Britain. Between that time and the twelfth century it came to be connected with North Wales, and *The Book of Llandaff* (a compilation of the twelfth century) gives the names of Lucius' ambassadors, and describes the foundation of the sees.

According to Bishop Jewell, Eleutherius replied to Lucius thus: "You have received in the Kingdom of Britain, by God's mercy, both the law and faith of Christ; ye have both the old and the new testament, out of the same through God's grace, by the advice of your realm make a law, and by the same through God's sufferance rule you your kingdom of Britain, for in that kingdom you are God's vicar." And he sent Fugatius and Damianus, who baptised the King and all his family and people. There were in those days, within the bounds of Britain, twenty-eight Flamines and three Archflamines, superintendents of the pagan religion, in whose place were instituted twenty-eight bishops and three archbishops of the Christian religion; one of the which archbishops held his see at London, another at York, and the third at Carleon Arwiske in Glamorganshire. To the Archbishop of Carleon was subject all Wales, within which country there were seven bishops.

This account of Lucius' conversion and establishment of the Christian Church in Britain is not considered

<sup>1</sup> *History of Britain*, book iv, ch. 19.



sufficiently authenticated to be of historical value; but it is useful in throwing light on subsequent events which cannot be controverted, and explaining how in the fourth century reliable evidence can be produced of an organised Christian Church establishment in Britain; for in the year A.D. 314 the Council of Arles was convened to consider the question of the Donatist schism in Africa, and in the Acts of the Council are recorded the names of three British bishops who sat in the Council, attended by a priest and a deacon. They were Eborius, Bishop of York; Restitutus, Bishop of London; Adelfius, Bishop of Colonia Londinensium—which has been variously conjectured to be Colchester, Lincoln, and Caerleon-upon-Usk; Sacerdos, a priest, and Arminius, a deacon. There were also British bishops at the Council of Sardica, A.D. 347, and at the Council of Ariminum in A.D. 360. In the middle of the fourth century the British Churches signified, by letter to Athanasius, their adhesion to the Nicene faith, and in the latter part of the fourth century (386-400) extracts from the writings of Chrysostom, Jerome, and Sozomon show satisfactorily that there was a settled Church in Britain, with churches, altars, scriptures, and discipline, holding intercourse both with Rome and Palestine;<sup>1</sup> and it is only a fair inference from these circumstances that Christianity had gradually developed into an ecclesiastical establishment, and that the early accounts of its introduction and progress must have had some foundation in reality, though not sufficiently reliable to satisfy the requirements of modern research.

And then the British Church, which had survived the persecution of Diocletian, had to meet the invasion of the Saxons, and was carried by the remnant of the British people who escaped and remained firm to the Christian faith behind the fastnesses of Wales and Cornwall, where it grew and prospered; so that when St. Augustine came to Britain, in 597, to convert the Saxons, he was confronted with this ancient Church—not a mere scattered body of Christians, but an ecclesiastical establishment differing in some respects from the Romish ritual, so that when he was ordained Archbishop of the English

<sup>1</sup> *Turning Points of English Church History*, by Rev. E. L. Cutts.

nation by Vergilius, Archbishop of Arles, and sent questions to Gregory for the solution of some doubts which occurred to him, his seventh question was, "How are we to deal with the Bishops of France and Britain?" and Gregory answers: "We give you no authority over the Bishops of France, because the Bishop of Arles received the pall in ancient times from my predecessor, and we are not to deprive him of the authority he has received. But as for all the Bishops of Britain, we commit them to your care, that the unlearned may be taught, the weak strengthened by persuasion, and the perverse corrected by authority."

The result of this was that Augustine, with the assistance of King Ethelbert, drew together to a conference the bishops or doctors of the next province of Britain, at a place called Augustine's Ac, *i.e.*, Augustine's Oak, supposed to be near Aust in Gloucestershire, and began (says Bede<sup>1</sup>) "to persuade them that preserving Catholic unity with him they should undertake the common labour of preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles. For they did not keep Easter Sunday at the proper time. Besides, they did several other things which were against the unity of the Church." The Britons confessed that it was the way of righteousness which Augustine taught; but that they could not depart from their ancient customs without the consent of the people. A second synod was therefore decreed, to which came seven bishops of the Britons and many most learned men, particularly from their most noble monastery Bancomburg (now Bangor Iscoed, Flintshire). Augustine said if they would comply with him in three points—viz., to keep Easter at the due time; to administer baptism according to the custom of the Roman Apostolic Church; and jointly to preach the word of God to the English nation—he would tolerate all the other things they did contrary to his customs. They answered they would do none of those things, nor receive him as their Archbishop. Augustine answered them in a threatening manner, which instigated Ethelfrid afterwards to attack the Welsh, A.D. 607, as thus described in the *Saxon Chronicle*: "This year Ethelfrith led his army to Chester and there

<sup>1</sup> Ch. ii.

slew numberless Welshmen : and so was fulfilled the prophecy of Augustine, wherein he saith, ‘ If the Welsh will not be at peace with us they shall perish at the hands of the Saxons.’ There also were slain two hundred priests, who came to pray for the army of the Welsh.” The destruction of the monastery of Bangor Iscoed followed this massacre.

The Welsh Church continued independent of the Church St. Augustine established in England until the reign of Henry I, when Bernard, a Norman, being made Bishop of St. David’s, professed subjection to the Archbishop of Canterbury as metropolitan. So say Godwin and Leland, *Collect.*, vol. ii, p. 108, from Giraldus Cambrensis, and Usher in *Judice Chronolog.*, sub A.D. 1115. But Cressy contends that all the British bishops were subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury from A.D. 982, when Gucan, Bishop of Llandaff, was consecrated by Archbishop Dunstan.<sup>1</sup> According to Archbishop Usher,<sup>2</sup> the Church of Llandaff denied subjection to St. David’s, and that according to the Llandaff Register their Bishops were consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury from the time of Oudouces in the sixth century.

The earliest foundation of a bishopric in Wales was at Caerleon, Dubritius being called by the title of Archbishop of Caerleon, as Archbishop of Wales, at the first establishment of the Christian religion in the British Island. St. David is said, soon after the famous British synod for suppressing the Pelagian heresy, A.D. 519, to have built a monastery at Vallis Rosina (supposed to be near Menevia) for monks to support themselves by the labour of their own hands. This monastery is not taken notice of in the *Monasticon*, as not coming within any of the Orders afterwards known in England, and having had but a short continuance ; for what became of it, or when it perished, is not known.<sup>3</sup> St. David translated the archbishopric of Wales from Caerleon to Menevia in A.D. 577, and the town thereupon took his name soon after his decease, and the Church was commended to his

<sup>1</sup> Collier, vol. i, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiq. Eccl. Brit.*, p. 85, ed. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Dugdale’s *Monast.*, vol. vi, 1629-30, and Stevens’ *Continuation*, vol. i, p. 216.



patronage. This (says Dugdale) is the most general account; but in Spelman's *Councils* (vol. i, p. 25) it is said that Dubritius removed the archbishopric from Caerleon to Llandaff, and St. David removed it from Llandaff to Menevia. Authors differ much about this time. According to Spelman's *Councils*, vol. i, pp. 61-2, it should be shortly after Dubritius' resignation and St. David being made Archbishop. But others place it much later.<sup>1</sup> This see seems to have been generally full, and to have enjoyed the archbishopric till about A.D. 930, when Sampson withdrawing from his province on account of a pestilential distemper which then raged there, carried the pall with him to Dole in Brittany. But the bishops of this see are said to have consecrated the Welsh bishops, and to have been Primates to them till the time of Henry I, as already stated.<sup>2</sup>

Early in the tenth century Howell Dha, King of South Wales, but who then appears to have had supreme rule over the whole country, collected and revised the Laws of Wales, and embodied them into those Codes which bear his name; for which purpose he summoned, besides representatives of the laity, all the clergy of the kingdom possessed of the dignity of the crozier, and when the laws had been all made and completely written, Howel, accompanied by the Princes of Cymru and the Bishops of Menevia, Bangor, and St. Asaph, and the Archdeacon of Llandaff, went to Rome to obtain the confirmation of the laws from Pope Anastatius. This was in the year A.D. 914. One of these Codes, the Dimetian (relating to the southern division of Wales), states (ch. 24) that there were seven bishoprics. One is Menevia, a principal seat in Cymru; the churches of Ismael, Llan Ddagenian, Llan Usyllt, Llan Deilo, Llan Deulydog, Llan Genese.

The only one of these which has survived as a bishopric is Menevia (St. David's), the rest still exist as parish churches, included in the Clergy List of the present day, as St. Ismael, near Milford in Pembrokeshire; Roscrowther (St. Decuman's), Pembroke; St. Issell's, near Tenby; Llan Deilo, St. Dogmael's, and Llangan.

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale, *Monast.*, vol. vi, p. 1302, and see Willis' *Survey of St. David's Cathedral*, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale, *Monast.*, vol. vi.



The four bishoprics mentioned in Howel's Laws—Menevia (St. David's), Bangor, St. Asaph's, and Llandaff, are identical with the present sees.

Of St. David's we have already spoken. The diocese of Bangor, according to Tanner, was probably erected before the middle of the sixth century, by Malgwyn, or Malgo Conan, Prince of North Wales, and Denniel, or Daniel, son of Dinothus, Abbot of Bangor in Flintshire, who had before founded a college or monastery here, was made the first bishop (consecrated by Dubritius, according to Usher). We have very little, or indeed no account of the monastery afterwards, and but a slender one of the bishops till A.D. 1039, after which time there seems to have been a regular succession of prelates in this see; though by reason of the wars they had not a quiet enjoyment.

Dugdale's list of the bishops commences with Herveus in 1067, who was translated to the bishopric of Ely in 1109.

Kentigern, Bishop of Glasgow, says Tanner, being driven out of Scotland, founded an episcopal seat and monastery at St. Asaph, in Flintshire, about the middle of the sixth century, and became the first bishop (but Speed says Kentigern founded the monastery, and Malgo, a British king, made it an episcopal see). Upon his return into Scotland he made Asaph, or Hassaph, his successor, and from him both the church and place have since been called St. Asaph. But from the death of St. Asaph, A.D. 596, there is no account of the monastery, and little or no account of any bishops till A.D. 1143, and there has been a regular and constant succession from that time, notwithstanding the wars between the English and the Welsh, and Owen Glendower's rebellion.

There is much of uncertainty in the history of Llandaff, as well in relation to its see as its bishops, till the latter end of the ninth century. A MS. in the library of the learned Selden is quoted by Dugdale, which speaks of Elvanus as the first bishop, in the time of Lucius, and Bishop Godwin mentions such a tradition, but rejects it. Tanner, after weighing different authorities, says a bishopric was erected here in the time of St. Dubritius, whose death is generally placed in A.D. 522; but Dugdale,

as well as Wharton in the *Anglia Sacra*, says, "A.D. 612 S. Dubricius migravit ad Dominum."<sup>1</sup>

The members of this church, says Tanner, were at first endowed with great possessions, but deprived of most of them shortly after the Conquest, when their first church was destroyed.

It will be seen from this sketch of the early history of the Church in Wales that the Christian religion had steadily increased and developed into an organised Episcopal Church prior to the advent of St. Augustine and his conversion of the Saxons, and that it continued independent of the Anglican Church till at least the end of the tenth century. Its relation with the State appears from Howel Dha's Laws to have been in perfect harmony. The King permitted every ecclesiastical lord, such as the Archbishop of Menevia, or other bishops or abbots, royal privileges for holding pleas among their laics by the common law of Cymru, and he reserved to himself making laws and maintaining the privilege of the croziers of the kingdom.

And so it continued until it merged into the Anglican Church by the professed subjection of Bernard to the Archbishop of Canterbury as metropolitan, in the reign of Henry I; and when Edward I finally conquered Wales and annexed it to England, by the statute of Rhudland, in the twelfth year of his reign (A.D. 1284), no mention of the Church was made in that statute. The privileges and endowments remained, and it has continued until the present time an integral portion of the Anglican Church.

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale's *Monast.*, by Caley Ellis and Bandinel (1830), vol. vi. Pt. 3.

## PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

AN ATTEMPT TO RECOVER THE FIRST DESIGN  
OF  
THE WEST FRONT OF THE ABBEY CHURCH

DEDICATED TO ST. PETER, NOW THE CATHEDRAL.

BY J. T. IRVINE, ESQ.

(*Read 1st February 1888.*)

So thoroughly fresh in conception and unique in design is the front of this abbey church, that few edifices have attracted more attention or been more frequently described. Nevertheless, close analysis of its parts was rarely entered on, or, when so, extended beyond changes made therein during the Perpendicular period of architecture, by inserting tracery into its openings, or superseding that "unpretending" spire over the north-west stair-tower by a much finer one, of corresponding design to that above the south-west staircase. Abundant discussion has also taken place over that chapel, which, as a practical necessity, was so ingeniously inserted betwixt the pillars of the central arch, to serve as a supporting stiffener of the piers between which it stands. But of the singular interest this front presents, first as an Early English design of the very highest order, and secondly, and especially, as containing within itself evidence that its designer's original conception was destined to undergo during erection sudden and violent change, no notice (so far as I am aware of) has ever been taken. Yet such change was one both seriously to its detriment, and at a moment when the whole had so far advanced towards completion as left not only the main lines of the design, but even the general theory of his first idea, recoverable enough to permit of a presumptive interpretation of the architect's original intentions to be tolerably reproducible on paper.

It also testifies, moreover, to the singular ability he displayed in meeting, directing, and adapting to circumstances this forced change, that the mutilated design preserves so excellent a balance of parts, that

it wins the approbation of the beholders; nor fails in worthily supporting that appellation of "Peterborough the Proud", bestowed on it by its mediæval neighbours. From a note given on p. 489 of Bridge's History of the county, we incidentally learn its erection was to serve as a "galilee" to the monastic church, wherein interviews between the monks (then numbering seventy-two) and their female relatives and friends might be held.<sup>1</sup> As in the St. Alban's front, here also the addition was to an older existing Norman building, and by its designer undoubtedly viewed as but the commencement of *continued reconstruction*.

The existing structure had a choir of exquisite proportions. Over the central apex of the various roofs, above the crossing, rose an unusually high lantern tower of late Norman date, pierced by two tiers of round-headed lights, separated by blank arcades. The apex of the nave roof proceeded level to the west wall (of second) west end, now to become the east wall of the new galilee porch: a point which must be henceforth not forgotten, in so far as that circumstance was a main factor later on in necessitating the forcible change seen to take place in the very graceful design of the Early English architect. Like his brother designers at Wells and St. Alban's, he utterly ignored the existing hinder structure and its heights. Nor in this was his sole agreement with them. Each displayed wonderful boldness of design and magnificent ideality of conception, yet perfectly preserving his own individuality and localism of expression throughout the structure he proposes to erect. Each design of the three possesses thus distinctness of character, extending down to the very difference found existing between the sections of the mouldings employed. Nor, indeed, could greater local contrast take place than that observable between the Wells type of the use of grand buttresses, and the Peterborough type, wherein buttresses are almost wholly dispensed with.

All three designers understood exactly what they desired to perform, and its thorough performance also. To the minds of each, one point was common, namely,

<sup>1</sup> Length of galilee from wall to wall, north and south, 109 ft. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. breadth, 17 ft. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.; length below seat, about 106 ft. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. of floor,



perfect comprehension of the force in design, and vigour, joined with constructional dignity, producible by masses externally applied to the side planes of a hinder building; as the forefront of a mighty lion is emphasised by the grand paws with which, as he lies down, it is buttressed.

Of the Peterborough Cathedral front<sup>1</sup> ordinary descriptions supply almost all wanted between the ground line and that of main cornice, close inspection revealing, however, the fact that its first beginnings are found in the lower parts of its central piers (*behind*), where the different sections of bases and vertical rows of "nail-head" ornamentation suggest a still earlier idea in design and age.<sup>2</sup> Next in date follow the stair towers, consequent on the retention of the old Norman west wall. This preserved for sheltering the services inside from the weather. Vertical jointings in the masonry near the inner angles of the galilee mark the extent left.<sup>3</sup> The peeling and refacing externally of this same wall occurred afterwards.

To the great string level no interference had thwarted the views of the master-mason, nor had any difficulty arisen in connecting the new and old works. But when the rising structure reached and rose over this string, the great difference of height that must necessarily exist between the old and new roofs could no longer be concealed, and the question demanded imperatively a settlement, *once and for all*, as to whether the *new front* should descend to the already existing roof-lines, or should the old Norman structure disappear for replacement by one more in accordance with the aspirations of the newer age and architect. A view to which, present results prove, neither the courage of the abbot nor convent was equal.

Here we may, therefore, pause to inquire what *conjectural* period may be assigned as a possible date for so

<sup>1</sup> In its lowest plinth the whole width is 157 ft. 10½ in., or some 9 ft. 9 in. wider than Wells, though not looking so.

<sup>2</sup> Was not this of the period of the transition arches of zigzag over head, inside the west end? (A return to such use as Mr. T. J. Willson proves.)

<sup>3</sup> Mouldings at Peterborough are everywhere dissimilar to those of the same style found in the west end of Wells; octagonal caps and bases on the first, circular ditto only on the last.

important an erection, and whom the abbot might be under whose direction it was reared ? For, as Mr. Thomas Craddock has remarked in his admirable history of the Church, p. 138, "There is not the slightest mention of the west front in any known existing document. Neither does it afford in itself any other than the general facts of the style to supply an answer, except in one or two points."<sup>1</sup>

The general character of the design indicates a period within whose extreme limits are included the lives of at most three abbots, viz., Andreas, 1194-1200 ; Acharius or Zachary, 1200-1210 ; and Robert de Lindsey, 1214-1221. Of these three, Acharius or Zachary, before his election, had been Prior of St. Alban's. This at the time when John de Cella, its Abbot, was commencing the erection of his intended west front to that church : a design not a whit less magnificent in conception than those of Wells and Peterborough,<sup>2</sup> but, unfortunately, fated never to reach completion.

Comparison of such fragments as are recoverable of the plan of St. Alban's with that of Peterborough certainly favours the impression that the Prior of the first monastery, on becoming Abbot of the second, carried along with him a portion of that spirit which actuated the unfortunate De Cella, in attempting to produce in stone the glorious design of his *first* architect, Hugh de Goldcliffe, as seen in the little now left of it at St. Alban's.<sup>3</sup> It, therefore, Acharius be accepted as the moving spirit at Burgh St. Peter (and he sat there during a time of much prosperity, as its history and his increase of the number of the monastic body testifies), the non-completion at that time of the upper parapet and terminal spires of stair-turrets (those now present dating about 1327) may have resulted from King John's seizure of the monastic income in 1208, on the publication, March 24th, of the papal interdict ; being the eighth year of this Abbot, whose death took place on February 21, 1210,

<sup>1</sup> A statement that might be applied with equal truth to the west end of Wells.

<sup>2</sup> In all three cases a tower external to the line of the aisles was proposed.

<sup>3</sup> The writer had before him copies of Sir Gilbert Scott's discoveries at the west end of St. Alban's, of the plan intended by Hugh de Goldcliffe.

four years previous to its relaxation. A clue may thus be afforded to not only the above.<sup>1</sup> But why in the case of his successor (only elected July 3rd, 1214, the year of relaxation) though stated to have executed works in the monastery (a marble lavatory<sup>2</sup> in the cloisters being specially mentioned) yet is merely described to have glazed some thirty or forty windows of the church, "before filled with straw". Did the present front then exist, its windows would number about that named; an agreement with the historical account, curious to say the least, and a statement that strongly suggests openings but lately finished. The marble lavatory alluded to could scarcely be detached from some connection with the fine Early English arcading on the present south wall of cloister, whose bases rest on a continuous *moulded* plinth of similar treatment (though not section) to that used along the west front—a feature now hid from view by the raising of the gravel-walk around the cloister-garth.

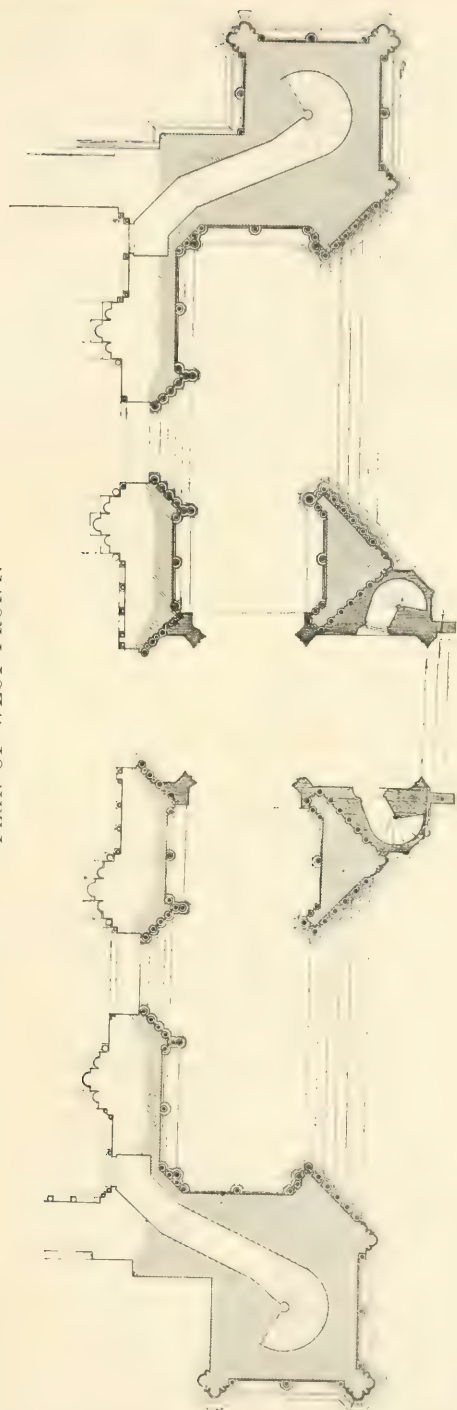
Returning to consideration of the structure, the ground-plan will show how the designer intended, so far as he possibly could, to prevent the weight of his stone vaulting from resting on, or thrusting over the front pillars, whose triangular plan, with one angle in front, rendered them the more liable thus to suffer. He therefore placed shafts separate from the walls altogether to support the vaulting. The marble bases of most of these remain in place, while some of those on western side to the triangular pillars still perform their object.

<sup>1</sup> As the master-mason added to so much of the older front (the second), as he preserved the turrets and gables still behind his stair-turrets, why he did not then also complete his terminations over stairs is singular; or, if supposed to have done so, strange what the cause which led to their entire removal and replacement by erections built immediately after 1327. Of the north spire of this date, fragments were found among the materials of the walls of the central lantern, proving that its destruction took place prior to the *second* rebuilding of such lantern. The north spire was a Perpendicular "restoration"; again restored by the Chapter some sixty or seventy years ago.

<sup>2</sup> One of the Alwalton marble basins of the above lavatory has come to light from the bottom of the well of Westwood farmhouse, where it may now be seen. The introduction of figures among its carving and foliage, however, shows that its date belongs to a somewhat later period than that of the front.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

PLAN OF WEST FRONT.



Plan of the Present (or Third) Front.



The then excellent custom was not to carry out vaulting until the walls had had a year or two to settle and consolidate. It was but when the forced change took place above such vaulting level that the designer found it would also, therefore, become necessary to return to support such vaulting from the walls themselves. The marble bases of these vaulting shafts of the first design, though then abandoned, yet remain (save only where destroyed by violence); see Plan.<sup>1</sup> While on the back wall of galilee the present vaulting-shafts come no lower than the string above the small arcade, and removed so far back as to base thereon. This, instead of rising from their original points on the floor below, where such bases remaining have induced many to suggest their having been pedestals to support standing figures now lost. But their real object was as above described. Over the great cornice *portions* of trefoil-headed arcades are grouped (see Diagram of *present state*), containing a figure and light alternately. Each portion now terminates very strangely in *half arches*. The lower shafted semi-buttresses fronting the pillars here terminate at the great string-line in the most abrupt and sudden manner, while replaced above it by totally different designs not even placed centrally over the former! At the height of an ashlar course or thereabout over the great string the raking lines of the copings of the side gables now commence. These are driven down quite irrespective of the arcading within, and thus cause that strangely imperfect finish of the ends of these last, and the cause of forcing the centres of the gables into different positions from those of the large arches they surmount. The coping lines of that over central gable spring from a level some two-thirds up the height of the small arcade; the designer thus apparently here striving to impart to it a certain amount of definite importance as regards the whole front.

The newly designed and added spirelets between the gables are items by which he evidently sought to borrow

<sup>1</sup> The bases to back-wall are invariably octagons in plan, save to the great west door; but circular ones alternate with the others to the outer line of front.

By an accident the central pillar of the west door was omitted from the drawing of plan of front.

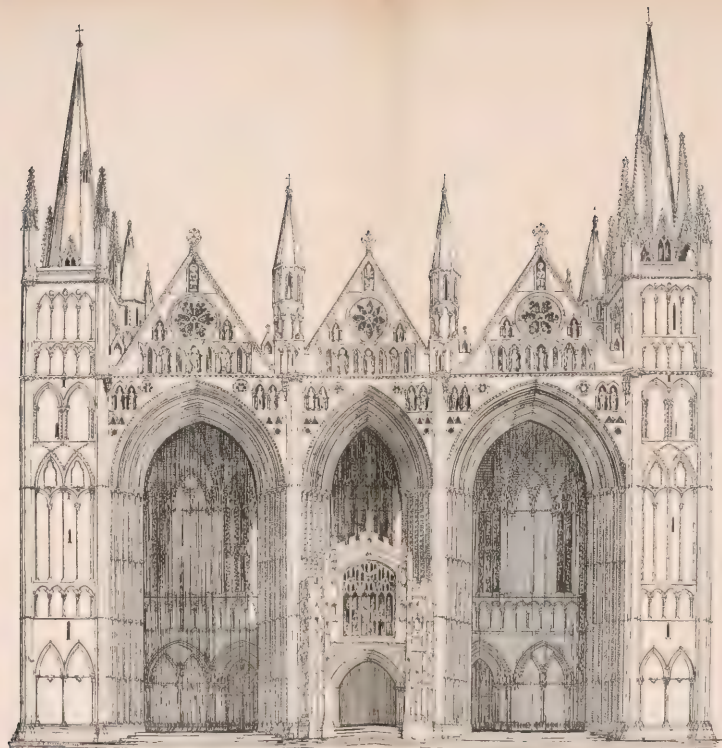




No. 1 -ELEVATION OF WEST FRONT AS FIRST DESIGNED (OR THEREABOUT).







N. 2.—DIAGRAM OF WEST FRONT AS DESIGNED AND AT PRESENT.

strength in the composition of this lowered and artistically weakened upper front.

These fresh spirelets are most beautiful and graceful designs, though no longer, as the former were, mere adjuncts to the gables; but, through their increased size, etc., supply a great amount of strength. Strength neither required nor, indeed, was it desirable, to find existence in those of the first design. Still they failed to satisfactorily connect his several gables either together or with the stair-towers, were it not for his further introduction of the ingenious "pack-saddle" pieces which close the wanting links between the respective masses (their lost terminal crosses are all given). The whole, admirable evidence of the designer's judgment and skill.<sup>1</sup> The lower stages of these spirelets are square on plan, ranging with the arcaded front, and blending into the general arrangement. Over such base they become octagonal in plan, and on the exposed angles of the junction curious small coped shrines are diagonally placed, softening such otherwise hard outline produced by this change of form.

<sup>1</sup> The change of design necessitating the production of the more massive pinnacles instead of the former much lighter ones, as first intended, with their situation on the verge of wall over the front angles of the triangular-shaped plans of piers, and change of supports for the porch-vaulting, went far towards producing that forward sinking of the front now seen,—a sinking threatening the eventual ruin of the Peterborough west end.

Close study of the parts of the front raises doubts as to whether or not the designer did not at first design western towers of a size and magnificence commensurate with the dignity of the design, but they were by the monastic chapter reduced into the mere stair-turrets now seen; and has recorded this to posterity in the incomplete and singular termination of the lower small arcade on the western face of the south turret, pointing to its former greater intended width; while the singular character of the next stages above such arcade, in both turrets, by their double planes of ornamentation and *intersecting* work, appear to suggest that then he intended to form in the west walls of such towers open and vaulted galleries, from whence the aged monks might, from under cover, look down on and view the exit from, and return to, the Abbey Church, of processions into the city, not long before removed westwards of the church.

The triangular pillars of the galilee are, strange to say, not built of horizontal courses of level, wrought ashlar, as seen everywhere else in the fabric, but of irregular courses of "random ashlar", suggesting that they are built up of older, re-used materials procured from the Castle or elsewhere,—a proceeding that, no doubt, has gone much against the general stability of the front.

Above the arcades the contrast occasioned by the violence of this change generally is much more clearly seen, for the triangle of each gable became so reduced that the three beautiful circular windows could only obtain their places by the destruction of both the string and head of each little trefoil arch in the arcade below, upon which they rested, together with the further destruction at bottom of their own arch-orders and labels! (see diagram No. 2 of front as at present). Possibly this awkward result may be attributable to their "stone work having already been delivered from the quarry at Barnak on to the site, thus leaving other treatment impossible. Their accompanying niches, after undergoing reductions, are crammed into the space left on either side, while those of greater dignity and size in the apex of the gables, containing the figures of the patron saints, fared equally ill, suffering shortened height and loss of canopy arches. A loss most cleverly disguised by their heads being in treatment incorporated with the ornamental cusped copings of the gables. Astonishingly facile as this master-mason was in triumphing over difficulties, yet from the summit level, a general survey shows that not all his skill could save the altered work from becoming liable in some parts to shams (see diagram of roofs). Hence the amount of wall space of the gables at present over the apex of roofing behind is considerable. In the north and south gables about 5 ft. 1½ in. (see diagram of heights of Norman, present, and intended western roofing on next page). When forced to grapple with this great change the designer boldly and wisely abandoned the further use of the shafted-pillar buttresses (a feature that was incapable of change), producing entirely fresh designs; doubtless applicable for replacement also instead of whatsoever terminations he before contemplated to have given the north and south ends of the former front, where he has with the simplest elements produced results as truly beautiful as it is possible to conceive. Of the spirit and guiding lines of the original design so much yet lingers as renders an approximate reconstruction of the whole on paper a task comparatively easy, although six centuries have rolled past since its lines were first drawn on his probably rude parchment diagram.

On the accompanying attempted restoration diagram, No. 1, portions of the amount of carved ornament and quatrefoil decoration, that may probably have existed, are doubtless wanting. But to the writer it seemed preferable to err on the side of giving less than more.

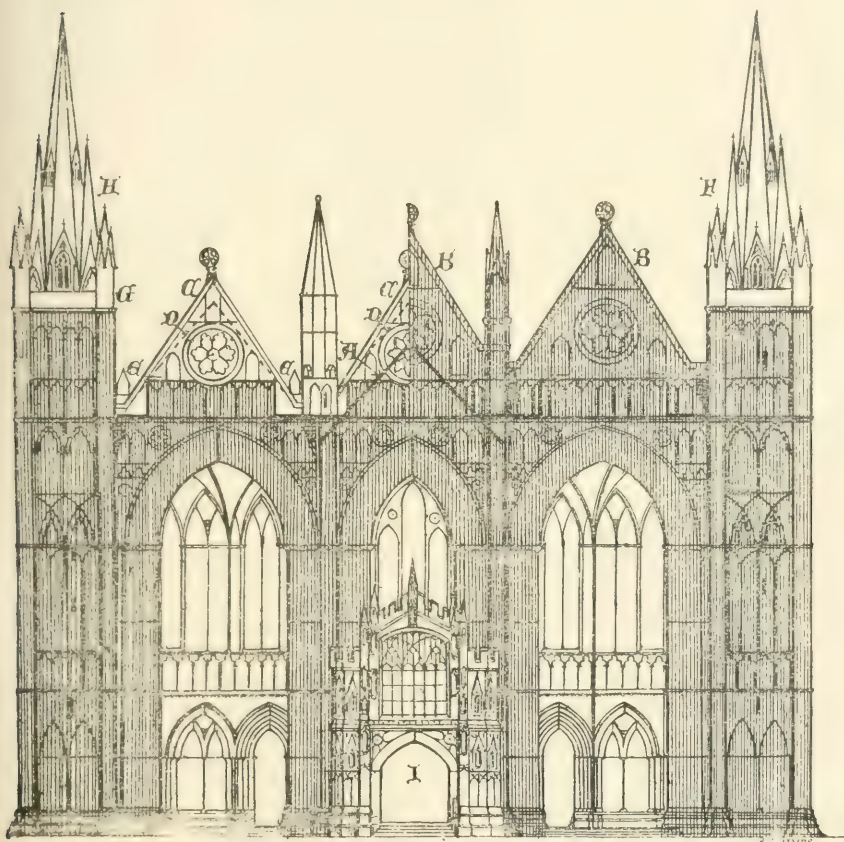


Diagram of originally designed and present Fronts.

- A. Line of Roof of Norman Nave.
- B, B. General Outline of first Design.
- C, C. Present Outline of Front.
- D. Lines of present Roofs.
- E, E. "Pack-Saddle" Pieces.
- F. Spire added about 1327.
- G. Part of similar Date left over the North Stair Turret.
- H. Spire rebuilt in Perpendicular Period, and rebuilt again by Chapter.
- I. Introduced West Porch, or Consistory Court.

Up to the great string change is wanting; above which all suffers alteration. The arcade over, consisting of



niches (with figures<sup>1</sup> and windows alternately), had been intended to form a band of continuous strength, stretching across and binding together the front into one whole. This neither curtailed nor broken up as at present. The elegant clustered pillar buttresses (an idea improved and refined from Norman suggestions inside) were to have been continued upwards as pinnacle-shafts. Thus aiding the central gable, and themselves receiving strings or bands serving as starting-points for the several gable copings. These pinnacles would then have been altogether subservient to the central features, which would have thus possessed the size, dignity, and effect desirable in so noble an elevation: nor were called on to supply that practical amount of artistic strength and support to the intermediate masses, which is the object sought for from the new ones which now in the lowered design replace them. The lines of copings of side gables, instead of being compelled, as now, to spring from their mean and sunken positions, were then intended to rise from points somewhat higher *above* the top string of the small arcade than they now do from above that of its *base*. It followed that the intersecting lines of the sloping planes of the lead-roofing behind the gables would have fixed the levels and discharge-openings of the various gutters, thus governing the position of the gargois at *mark*, the proper heights above the *upper string*. From which cause it is evident that the end-spaces of the north and south strips of the arcade-band were intended to be blanks for receiving such gargois; therefore avoiding the uncouth blots and disfigurements they now are to the front. The first contemplated design would have given ample space for the circular windows, quatre-foiled, or carved ornamentation, top and other niches; or whatever else might have been thought desirable for perfecting the various parts and proportions of the composition. Internally the point of change in the west gables seems to be represented by springing-lines of the rear arches of arcade lights, where curious jointing and

<sup>1</sup> The whole number of figures left on the present front is thirty; the whole intended, and for whom brackets remain, was sixty-four. This does not include the niches in added porch-fronts, nor carving over or at the base of the west door.

abandonment of the further use of Alwalton marble occur.<sup>1</sup>

An explanation may here be given why on the accompanying diagram of a proposed restoration of the front, any feature of later date is shown, as the chapel introduced between the central pillars. This appears because it could not be removed in the diagram of *present front*—that necessary for comparison in showing the enforced destruction of arcades, etc., in upper stage. Again, also, because no information exists on the subject of that carving which must find place on the tympanum of west door behind. The value of this chapel is unquestionably great, first in giving scale to the early design; secondly, practical reasons rendering it impossible to safely remove it; and the loss of that scale, and contrast it gives, would be artistically very great. Besides the presenting a possible result, even in the front, had it been completed to the original design.<sup>2</sup> The fine oak doors coeval with the Early English front, and containing even carving of that style, remain inwardly, though faced externally with excellent rich work of Perpendicular age, if the front view given in the old *Monasticon* is correct (about 1630). A plate, again, used by Dean Simon Patrick in his publication of Gunton's history of the Cathedral, 1686. This

<sup>1</sup> There exists here a curious passage in the thickness of the wall, which, in the opinion of the late Sir Gilbert Scott, practically corresponded, though in a somewhat different position, to those singular ones found through the west walls of Wells, Salisbury, and Lichfield Cathedrals, presenting no opening from such passage into the naves. Sir Gilbert was at a loss to discover their object.

In this galilee front the material of the abundant marble shafts, abaci, bases, strings, etc., was derived from the quarries of marble stone on the monastic property at Alwalton, near the south bank of the river Nen. This is more shelly in texture (flat shells), and lighter in colour, than Purbeck marble, but probably more durable. Out of it most of the monumental figures of the Abbots, remaining in the Cathedral, are wrought. None of it appears at Croyland; only Purbeck marble, perhaps a result of the mutual disputes between the respective monasteries.

<sup>2</sup> It was a suggestion most likely made when signs of structural weakness became first apparent during the Decorated period, but was so long delayed during construction, that though the section through caps of its back pillars are of Decorated work (see caps), those of the front are of Perpendicular section, and its general treatment retains noticeable peculiarities of the former style. (See illustrations which appeared in *The Builder* for Sept. 20, 1890.)

facing seems to have been renewed in a poor, plain style by the Chapter, prior at least to Browne Willis' survey in 1730.

It is worthy of record that though the designer had to contend with many and obviously great disadvantages, yet so happy is his balance of parts, together with that general symmetry he managed to retain, through the conflict of designs, that when persons who fairly understood architectural design have had these abrupt changes pointed out to them, the writer has heard some even express doubts as to whether after all the unmutilated design would, as a whole, have equalled the present one. Singular testimony to the old master-mason's ability and skill.

This west front was almost the last grand effort in ecclesiastical building of the monastic fraternity of Peterborough. Their after exhaustion requiring a repose of some three centuries for its recovery (the Lady Chapel and Bell Tower being both erections by minor officers of the brotherhood). It was but when rotten to the core, and rocking to their base before the blast so soon to prostrate them, that "the calf was cut in twain", and their last effort appeared in the shape of the *New Building* at the east end. The *new building* of so pigmy an age that it required the lives of no less than three abbots (1438-96) to effect its completion! The old lesson of the "heap of vanities" of all human affairs is here most strikingly illustrated, when we note that while the scarcely more than commenced front of St. Alban's Abbey preserves to futurity its designer's name, Hugh de Goldcliffe, those of the men who designed and raised to practical completion the magnificent western fronts of Wells and Peterborough Cathedrals are utterly forgotten and unknown!

*Note.*—Bridge's *History of Northamptonshire* (p. 489) gives the following information: "Walcote in parish of Barnack. In 1347 Simon de Sapcote, executor of the last will of John de Blakketort of Walcott, in the parish of Barnack, gave his best horse (by printer's blunder *house*) as a mortuary *in the place called Galilea*." The receiver evidently stood on the steps of the west front to receive the halter. Reference is to Register Fraunceys, p. 219. The most severe attention to the object sought was productive of the most signal architectural success in its design.

## Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 5TH APRIL 1893.

ALLAN WYON, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

MR. R. E. WAY exhibited a collection of objects recently excavated on the site of the old Bankside Theatre. These consist, among other things, of part of a Roman tessellated pavement, a Roman flue-tile, a coin of the Emperor Claudius—*Rev.*, “ob cives servatos”—and a mediæval carved pipe. Mr. Way also exhibited a large mass of molten copper, brass, or bronze, perhaps a mediæval clock-weight, found at a depth of sixteen feet below ground level in Aldgate.

Admiral Tremlett’s gift of drawings to scale of a number of pre-historic buildings and other ancient edifices in Western Gaul was exhibited in part. The sites are Poët a tous, Migny, Mont-St.-Michael, and Morbihan. The drawings excited much interest among the members, who were highly gratified at the valuable donation of so many important drawings by the Admiral.

MR. C. H. COMPTON read a paper on “The Ancient Church in Wales”, which has been printed above in the *Journal*. Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, drew attention to the unsatisfactory state of antiquarian knowledge as to the existence of anything like a national or organised Church at the period covered by the paper, and to the remarkable absence of archaeological remains in support of the theory; a state of things so markedly in contrast with the evidences of the Augustinian period, as to suggest that, before the ecclesiastical mission to Kent, Christianity in England was purely accidental, strictly circumscribed by local influences, and not entitled to claim the influential position of a popular faith.

WEDNESDAY, 19TH APRIL 1893.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Rob. Quick, Esq., Cavendish Road, Clapham Park; H. E. Gribble, Esq., 38 Bedford Row, W.C., were duly elected members.



Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following books to the Library :—

- To the Smithsonian Institute*, for “A Dakota-English Dictionary.” By S. R. Riggs. Washington, 1890. 4to.
- .. .. for “Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Smithsonian Institute.” 1885-6. By J. W. Powell, Director. Large 8vo.
- .. .. for “Bibliography of the Athapaskan Languages. By J. C. Pilling. 8vo. Washington, 1892.
- To the Society*, for “*Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles.*” Vol. 7, livr. ii. 1 Avr. 1893.
- .. .. for “*Bulletin Historique.*” Forty-first year, 163 livr. 1892-Third fasc. St. Omer, 1892.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following note respecting the evidence of Roman Remains at Harrow, communicated by the Rev. W. Done Bushell, of Harrow School :—

“In the removal of some portions of the stucco which now disfigures the tower of the Parish Church, a most interesting fact has come to light. It has been found that Roman bricks have here and there been used in its construction. If they are really Roman—and they are stated so to be on very good authority—we have a proof that when the tower was built, in the first half of the twelfth century, there were in the immediate neighbourhood Roman bricks available for use, perhaps embedded in the walls of an earlier church. On two occasions, also, in recent years, it is said that Roman brick has been found in the older part of the church walls; and thus it is proved, and proved, so far as I am aware, for the first time, that Roman buildings once stood on or near the top of the hill.

“Further light is thus thrown on the origin of the name of Harrow. It has been often said that the name of Harrow is derived from an Anglo-Saxon word which means a church, and that its old name, *Herga* (or *Hearge*) *super Montem*, therefore means the Church upon the Hill. But *Hearb*, of which the genitive is *Hearges*, means a heathen temple (*Hearg*, an idol), not a Christian church; and this has been a difficulty in the way of such a derivation. Now, however, it appears that in these Roman bricks we may have the traces of a temple which once stood upon the hill, and whose ruins gave to the place in Saxon times the name which it still bears.

Rear Admiral Tremlett exhibited a further instalment of his large collection of Sketches of Ancient Remains in Brittany. They indicated many examples of ancient walling of unmortared masonry, some of the stones being of large size. The objects are mostly away from the beaten paths, and as a rule not well known to visitors.

Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a collection of fragments of ancient glass, recently acquired by him at Rome. Many of these were of very great beauty and elaboration of workmanship. Various examples of technical workmanship were shown by the specimens.

Mr. J. Park Harrison, M.A., described a curious discovery which he had made in the desecrated church at Bernay, Normandy. The church was founded by the wife of Duke Richard I, who completed the work. The capitals of the nave columns are of early Norman type, coloured with foliage. Beneath the colouring, he has found that one at least of the caps is carved, in low relief, with an elaborate pattern of palm foliage and animals, which appears to belong to the original work.

Col. George Lambert, F.S.A., read a paper on "Ancient Caerleon", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

In the discussion which ensued Mr. Birch drew attention to the opinion expressed in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* (i, 22), that "statements respecting British Christians at Rome, British Christians in Britain, and Apostles or apostolic men preaching in Britain in the first century, rest upon either guess, mistakes, or fable"; and that the record of the existence of two churches at Caerleon, dedicated respectively to Julius and Aaron, and a third, the "metropolitana totius Cambriæ", which last is identified by Geoffrey of Monmouth with that dedicated to Aaron, is extremely questionable.

A communication was read from Charles Brown, Esq., Mayor of Chester, pointing out that, "in the recent excavations on the site of 'Pemberton's Parlour', or rather in removing the rubbish down to the rock for the foundation, a fragment of a very peculiar Roman tile was found, of which I enclose a squeeze—

LEG XX  
∞ VHLOS

"The lower line, I believe, is unique, none of that kind having been found in Britain up to 1876, when, in excavating for Messrs. Wood's new premises in Bridge Street, a fragment of a similar tile was found, but less perfect. (See Mr. Thompson Watkins' *Roman Cheshire*, p. 119.)"

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## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

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WEDNESDAY, 3RD MAY 1893.

ALLAN WYON, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. TREAS., IN THE CHAIR.

The Chairman ordered the Hon. Secretary to proceed to the distribution of the ballot-sheet, and appointed Mr. Roget and Mr. Hughes, scrutators, to examine the same after the usual interval of one hour.

Mr Wyon then said :—

“The year closing to-day has been one of quiet, persistent, and useful work, as the papers already published, and those about to be published, in the *Journal*, have shown, and will still further show.

“We have unhappily to record the loss of eight Associates by death, viz

Ames, R., Esq., M.A., 9, Campden Hill Gardens, W.

Blake, Alfred Stirling, Esq., Portsmouth.

Grover, J. W., Esq., C.E., F.S.A., 9, Victoria Street, S.W.

Jackson, Rev. Wm., M.A., F.S.A., Penwartha, Weston-super-Mare.

Ray, H. C., Esq., Iron Acton, Gloucester.

St. Oswald, the Lord, Nostel Priory.

Taylor, F., Esq., F.S.A., Park Hill, Croydon.

Turner, J. Goldicutt, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., Rickingham, Diss.

Trigg Henry, Esq., Babwell Friary, Bury St. Edmunds.

“Whilst we deplore all these losses we feel especially constrained to express our grief at the removal from our midst of Mr. Grover, who for twenty-six years was member of this Association, who had been on our Council for twenty-four years, and a Vice-President for three years. With a knowledge of various departments of Archæology he combined a strongly imaginative faculty, that enabled him very graphically to portray in pictorial description the subjects he from time to time took in hand, which always rendered his communications to the Association interesting. In our Society, as well as elsewhere, he was held in much respect and warm regard, and his loss by us is much deplored.

“But whilst we have sustained losses we have also had the pleasure of entering the following names of new Associates and others upon our rolls :

Mrs. Laxton.

Basil Lawrence, Esq.

Mrs. Trappes.

George Fuller, Esq.

A. Hessell Titeman, Esq.

The Rev. David Bowen, B.A.

Edwin Seward, Esq.

Edward Jenkins Williams, Esq.

The Free Library, Cardiff.

Robert Quick, Esq.

H. E. Gribble, Esq.

Hon. Correspondents :

Rev. H. le Bœuf.

Rev. F. Sandars.

W. Ferguson Irvine, Esq.

Geo. Frater, Esq.

Dr. Fairbank, F.S.A.

Hon. Foreign Correspondent :

Senor J. Gestoso, of Seville.

“ Our Congress Meetings at Cardiff were fairly well attended, whilst the proceedings throughout the week we were in South Wales were varied, useful, and interesting. The reception accorded to the Association on all hands was most gratifying. It is to be hoped that our Congress at Winchester this year, for which preparations of a most satisfactory character are already made, may be even still more successful.

“ It is known by most, if not by all, present here to-day, that negotiations have been opened for the union of this Association with another important Archæological Society. At the request of the other Society delegates from this Association have been appointed to meet delegates from the other Society. Various meetings of a cordial and harmonious character have taken place between the delegates, who, however, have no power to settle anything beyond a report stating a scheme of union, which would have to be considered by the constituents of each Society. Such a report may shortly be expected, when special General Meetings of the Association will have to be convened. The Council are of opinion that a scheme worthy of consideration has been brought forward. Should it be in the power of this Association to further promote the study of Archæology, and to improve the financial stability of this Society, by such a union, I have no doubt the scheme will receive the serious attention and hearty support of all the members of this Association.”

The Chairman then proceeded to read the

#### TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DEC. 1892.

“ In presenting the balance-sheet to 31st December last there is little to which attention need be called, beyond the fact of a decline in the total number of Associates, owing to the exceptionally long death-roll, to which attention was called at our last Annual Meeting. The consequence is that the amount received from the annual subscriptions has fallen about £33 below the average of many years past. The entrance fees have maintained their average ; but, on account of life-compositions, from which for many years there has been an average income of £26 5s., nothing whatever has been received during the year ending 31st December 1892. Singularly enough, the item of Sale of Publications has also dropped £20 below the average. In spite of these unusually short receipts, and the fact that the expenditure for 1892 exceeded that for 1891 by some £11 or so : the nett decrease of the funds held by the Association, after making full provisions for all liabilities, has only been £3 3s. 5d.—a fact which augurs well for the financial prosperity of the Association in the future, as the exceptional



circumstances of the past year are not likely to recur again. In spite of the somewhat untoward position of affairs, however, £25 has been deposited with the Post Office Savings Bank, and it is confidently anticipated that, in the course of the present year, the funds of the Association will permit additions being made to this amount."

Mr. Hughes moved, and Mr. Nichols seconded, the adoption of the Treasurer's Report, which was carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks was rendered to the Auditors for their services on this occasion.

Mr. Brock took this opportunity of passing some remarks on the Congress forthcoming at Winchester.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, then read the

#### SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1892-3.

"The Hon. Secretary has the honour of laying before the Associates of the British Archæological Association, at their Annual Meeting held this day, their customary Report on the state of the Association during the past year 1892-3.

"1. During the past year a considerable number of works have been presented to the library. The action of the Library Sub-committee will determine, or has already determined, the future of these and other books of the Association.

"2. Forty of the more important papers which were read at the recent Congress held at York, and during the progress of the Session held in London, have been printed in the *Journal* for 1892, which is illustrated with thirty-two plates, some of which have been wholly, or in part, contributed to the Association by the liberality of our friends and Associates, to whom grateful recognition is due in this behalf.

"3. The Hon. Secretaries are glad to say that they have in hand a fair amount of papers which relate to the Cardiff Congress, and others read in London, which have been accepted by the Council for publication and illustration in the *Journal*, as circumstances will permit. They desire it to be more generally known by authors of papers that their papers should be transmitted to the Editor as soon as convenient after being read, in view of their publication in the *Journal* when accepted by the Council.

" W. DE G. BIRCH }  
E. P. L. BROCK } *Hon. Secretaries.*"

Mr. Hughes then moved, and Mr. Nichols seconded, the following resolution, which was carried unanimously, "That the Secretaries' Report be adopted, and that the best thanks of the Association be presented to W. de G. Birch and E. P. L. Brock, *Hon. Secretaries*, for their unremitting attention to the affairs of the Association during the past year."

# British Archaeological Association.

## BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DECEMBER 1892.

### RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bank, 1st January . . .	247	10	2
Annual subscriptions . . . £235	6	0	
Entrance-fees . . .	8	8	0
	<hr/>		
Sale of publications, etc. . . .	243	14	0
Proceeds of Cardiff Congress . . .	15	6	4
	47	4	0

### EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Liabilities outstanding for 1891, paid off . . .	103	15	6
Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i> . £182	7	2	
Illustrations to ditto . . .	23	7	8
	<hr/>		
Miscellaneous printing and advertising . . .	205	14	10
Delivery of <i>Journals</i> . . .	23	9	0
Rent and salaries . . .	15	13	3
Stationery, postage, etc. . . .	54	13	0
Balance at Bank, 31st December . £139	16	7	
Amount at P. O. Savings Bank . . .	25	0	0
	<hr/>		
Less printing account unpaid . . .	£164	16	7
	84	5	4
	<hr/>		
Net balance in favour of the Association . . .	80	11	3
	<hr/>		
	£553	14	6
	<hr/>		

Audited and found correct.

(Signed) O. MARRIAGE }  
J. H. MACMICHAEL } *Auditors.*

11th March 1893.

The Chairman called for the examination of the Balloting papers, which, after inspection by the scrutators and one of the secretaries, was found to stand as follows:—

**President.**

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, K.C.S.I.

**Vice-Presidents.**

*Ex officio*—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.; THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G., G.C.S.I.; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S; THE LORD BISHOP OF LLANDAFF; SIR CHARLES H. ROUSE BUGHTON, Bart.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

COLONEL G. G. ADAMS, F.S.A.  
THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.

CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.

ARTHUR CATES, Esq.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq.

WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq., F.S.A.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L.,  
F.R.S., F.S.A.

A. W. FRANKS, Esq., C.B., D. Litt.,  
F.R.S., P.S.A.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.

J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.

E. M. THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A., D.C.L.,  
LL.D.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.

ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A.

**Honorary Treasurer.**

ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

**Sub-Treasurer.**

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.

**Honorary Secretaries.**

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A.

E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A.

**Palæographer.**

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A., D.C.L., LL.D.

**Council.**

J. ROMILLY ALLEN, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.

ALGERNON BRENT, Esq., F.R.G.S.

THE REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.

J. PARK HARRISON, Esq., M.A.

RICHARD HORSFALL, Esq.

R. HOWLETT, Esq., F.S.A.

W. E. HUGHES, Esq.

A. G. LANGDON, Esq.

RICHARD LLOYD, Esq.

J. T. MOULD, Esq.

W. J. NICHOLS, Esq.

A. OLIVER, Esq.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq.

W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.

R. E. WAY, Esq.

BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.

**Auditors.**

O. MARRIAGE, Esq.

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J. H. MACMICHAEL, Esq.

A vote of thanks was rendered to the scrutators.

Mr. Compton asked why the date of the Congress had been fixed for 31st July. It was explained that the date was arranged by the Local Committee.

The lists of Hon. Corresponding Members, Local Members of

Council, and Hon. Foreign Members, were then submitted to and considered by the meeting, and unanimously adopted.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman having been passed, the meeting was closed.

WEDNESDAY, 17TH MAY 1893.

S. RAYSON, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :—

*To the Society*, for "Archæological Journal," vol. I, No. 197, 1883.

„ „ for "Archæologia Cambrensis," Part for April 1893, Fifth Series, No. 38.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following paper on the

#### SUBSIDENCE OF LAND ON CLIFTON HILL CAMP.

BY ALFRED C. FRYER, PH.D., M.A.

The remarkable series of fortifications<sup>1</sup> on the rocks overhanging the chasm through which the Bristol Avon flows have from time to time received attention. It is impossible to say when the fort on Clifton Hill was first called *Caer Odre*. Mr. Seyer, in his *Memoirs of Bristol*,<sup>2</sup> says, "*Caer Odre* (the city of the chasm) was translated by the Saxons into Clifton; that is, the cliff town."<sup>3</sup>

The camp being built on the tremendous height of 285 ft. above the river, gave the defenders the advantage of easily descrying an enemy by land or sea, while a beacon fire would carry an alarm to Amesbury and other distant stations. From this height the *balistæ* and *catapultæ*, for throwing large stones, would defend the river and the ford or *vadum*.

The camp is an irregular circle of about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres, situated on the point of St. Vincent's Rock. The portion of the camp not defended by perpendicular precipices has two ditches, which form three ramparts. The inner one has an average height of 4 ft. above the area; the other *valla* are of greater relative elevation, and can even now be easily traced, although they are intersected by paths.

Some historians have thought that this camp was the *Abona* of the

<sup>1</sup> On the one side are the Clifton and Durdham Down Camps, and on the other the Burgh, or Bower Walls, and Stoke Leigh Camps. These camps formed one great fortification. The Burgh Camp was destroyed in making roads and villa-residences.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> The river Oder, in Germany, is the river of separation. "Clifton", say the authors of *Bristol Past and Present*, "is the cleft place, or place of cliffs. The word 'Clifton' is the Saxon way for expressing this geographical fact."



iter of Antonine; but we incline to the view that *Abona* was situated at Sea Mills.<sup>1</sup> There is very little doubt, however, that the *Antona* of Tacitus is the Bristol Avon; and this Clifton fort is a *castrum stativum* with at least one handsome Roman villa in its immediate neighbourhood.

It was Ostorius who disarmed the inhabitants of those towns and districts he suspected; and in order to secure the banks of the Severn and the *Antona*<sup>2</sup> he either constructed new forts or occupied the ancient camps (*cinctos castris*). The Romans constantly occupied the fortresses of the Britons, and this "is abundantly shown by the British names of the stations of the Roman itineraries; nearly three-fourths of the stations bearing British names, and thereby evincing themselves to be erected upon the site of British fortresses. The latter were generally planted upon such ground as the intimate knowledge of the country recommended, and such, therefore, as the policy of the Romans could approve."<sup>3</sup>

The only addition which appears to have been made by the Romans to this ancient fortress was a rampart of stones cemented by mortar; they may, perhaps, have made the square at the western end, and which we call a *prætorium* for lack of a better name. When Sir Wm. Draper levelled the ground near the camp, coins belonging to the reigns of Nero, Domitian, Trajan, and other emperors, were discovered, as well as the remains of a Roman urn with two handles, tiles, bricks, and broken potsherds.

A reservoir was constructed in the area of the camp during the early years of this century, and was filled in again at a later date. It has been frequently questioned how far these excavations damaged the ancient earthworks and walls. However, it is interesting to note that during the present long spell of fine weather the land within the camp, has subsided. In places it has sunk as much as ten or eleven inches, and what appears to be the outline of a circular reservoir can now be seen. There are also two well-defined lines leading from a gap in the outer wall of the *prætorium*. These are perhaps conduits for the reservoir, or it may be that they are paths or foundation-walls of an earlier date. One can be traced for about thirty-five yards, and the other for about ninety yards, when it disappears near the site of what appears to have been the reservoir.

In the small plan of this camp, which was inserted in Barrett's *History of Bristol* (1789), the square of the *prætorium* is given. Owing to the subsidence this square may now be traced without any difficulty,

<sup>1</sup> This question is carefully reasoned by the authors of *Bristol Past and Present*. See vol. i, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Tac., *Annal.*, lib. xii.

<sup>3</sup> Whittaker, *Hist. of Manc.*, vol. i, p. 114.

and the ground indicates that there was a ditch on the outside of the two walls within the camp. The *prætorium* is about thirty-three yards square.

The so-called pit-dwellings within the rampart of the fort are clearly indicated. Authorities differ about this series of hollows, and it may be that they are really a portion of an inner fosse, and not pit-dwellings at all. The Clifton-Hill Camp has passed through so many changes since it was first called *Caer Odre*, that it is difficult to speak with precision on some disputed points.

A photograph of a sculptured stone with a figure of Jesus Christ, full length, at Warden Church, Northumberland, was communicated by Mr. J. T. Irvine, who suggests that, as at Bradford-on-Avon, it was the centre stone over the chancel-arch, and that there were angels sculptured at each side.

Mr. Irvine also sent a drawing of an early tomb-slab found during excavation in Peterborough Cathedral churchyard, in the angle between the north transept and north aisle of nave. On the front is a circle intersected by two lines in saltire, on the back a plain cross.

Mr. Brock exhibited a plan and photographs, and read a paper on "Recent Excavations at Winchcombe Abbey."

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### Antiquarian Intelligence.

*Northumberland Excavation Fund.*—It is proposed to establish a small fund for the purpose of carrying on excavations in Northumberland in furtherance of archæological science. If a regular and scientific exploration were made of the camps along the line of the Roman Wall, it is almost certain that our knowledge of the conditions of military life among the Roman garrison which defended that great barrier would be largely increased.

In order to reconstruct the life of the Roman garrisons, the camps on our Northumbrian moors ought to be carefully excavated and compared with the earliest plan of Hyginus, in order to see how far they correspond with that plan, and where they differ from it or from one another. Though much has been written about the Roman Wall, this obvious work has hardly even been commenced. The careful excavations made about thirty-five years ago by the late Duke of Northumberland at High Rochester, and the operations commenced by the late Mr. Clayton at Chesters, and continued by his nephew, the

present owner, are admirable in their way ; but these have not accomplished all that could be desired.

The work will be a gradual work, and no large yearly outlay will be needed ; but it is important to make a beginning. The money raised is proposed to be devoted, in the first place, to the ascertainment of the ground-plan of one of the camps, say *Procolitia* or *Aesica*. When this is accomplished, other camps will be excavated, and the results compared with one another and with the Roman military treatises. It will be strange if light is not shed on several antiquarian questions which are now obscure.

The work is undertaken with the full sanction and encouragement of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, to which most of the projectors belong ; and though it will not be a *primary* object to search for works of art, or inscribed stones, we shall hope its Museum may be enriched with some antiquities of this kind discovered by the excavators in the course of their labours.

Promises of subscriptions will be received by Dr. Hodgkin, Bank, Newcastle.

*Glastonbury Antiquarian Society*.—The discovery was made, last year, of a prehistoric marsh-village near Glastonbury, between that town and Godney ; and its partial excavation having produced most valuable and interesting results, it is proposed to re-open the excavations this spring, and to again carry them on, under the superintendence of Mr. Arthur Bulleid, on a larger scale. Such an investigation is rendered practicable by the generous gift of the site of the village, by Mr. Edward Bath, to the Glastonbury Antiquarian Society, who purpose to carry out the excavations in a thorough and systematic manner.

The Society are promised the assistance and co-operation of several gentlemen, who have kindly consented to act as a committee of reference and advice :—J. G. Baker, Esq., F.R.S., F.L.S. ; Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., F.S.A. ; Sir John Evans, K.C.B., F.R.S., F.S.A. ; the Right Hon. Sir Edward Fry, F.R.S., F.S.A. ; Dr. R. Munro, F.S.A.Scot. ; Lieut.-General Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S., F.S.A.

It is obvious that considerable funds, beyond the possible contributions of the town and neighbourhood, will be required for the excavations ; but it is fully anticipated that the scientific value of the further discoveries to be made will far more than compensate for any reasonable outlay. The whole of the objects discovered in the village, together with the canoe found buried in the peat near it, are placed in the Museum of the Society at Glastonbury, where also all objects in future found will be deposited.

Subscriptions for the object in view may be sent to Mr. A. Bulleid, Honorary Secretary of the Glastonbury Antiquarian Society.







# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

## British Archaeological Association.

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SEPTEMBER 1893.

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### EXCAVATION OF THE SITE OF WINCHCOMBE ABBEY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SECRETARY.

(*Read 17 May 1893.*)

It will hardly be necessary for me to occupy time on the present occasion to trace the history of the great Benedictine Monastery of Winchcombe, since during the Evesham Congress, when a visit was paid to the parish church, adjacent to the site, it was my lot to read a paper on the subject.<sup>1</sup> It may be sufficient to say that it was founded by Kenulph, King of Mercia, early in the ninth century, Winchcombe being then the capital of the great kingdom of Mercia, and then, or soon after, the chief town of a county. It was here that the remains of the little, murdered King Kenelm were brought, which helped to make the Abbey ever after famous. Having been destroyed by fire A.D. 1151, the church was afterwards rebuilt; and the importance of the Monastery in later times is shown by the fact that this was one of the mitred abbeys. At the Dissolution the funds were of large amount, the yearly income being £759 : 11 : 9. The Abbey was fortified, the licence to crenellate being so early as 1374.

The paper related only to the history of the Abbey, for its ruins had so completely passed away that it was

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1876, p. 446.

not deemed advisable to do more than inspect the probable site from the parish churchyard.

Before preparing the paper in question I paid a visit to Winchcombe, thinking it an almost impossible thing for the remains of what must have been a large and important establishment to have been utterly obliterated. I found in an orchard east of the fine large parish church inequalities in the ground, which appeared to indicate foundations and disturbances of the surface; also a raised bank along the course of Back Lane, clearly visible from the churchyard; and in addition, two modernised houses, called "The Abbey", attracted my attention. Among much work of recent date I noticed some stone walls and windows, with a buttress and other ancient features, which convinced me that they had formed part of some subordinate building attached to the Abbey.

It has happened to me, so many years after my first visit, to be frequently in the locality, and Mrs. Dent of Sudeley Castle had often spoken to me of the interest she took in the site, and of her wish to know what might be buried beneath it. At the close of last year the first volume of the *Winchcombe Cartulary, or Land Boc*, was published by Rev. D. Royce, and it occurred to Mrs. Dent that if the site had really anything to tell of the extent of the Monastery, it ought to be known, to be recorded in the second volume, shortly to follow the first. In the meantime she had become possessed of a curious, ancient doorway of oak, which had for years done duty as a door in one of the houses of the town, but which proves to have been brought from some other building, doubtless the destroyed Abbey. It is a pretty specimen of carpentry of fifteenth century date.

It was with much gratification that I accepted Mrs. Dent's invitation to superintend some tentative works of exploration of the site, which were begun in very fine weather in December last, when a body of the estate and local workmen, with Mr. Haines, the clerk of the works of the estate, were placed at my disposal.

On arrival, I found that two trenches had already been dug across the bank in Back Lane. The results were curious and unexpected. We found all along the top of the bank traces of burnt wood. There had been a wood-

palisading above it, which had evidently been destroyed by fire. Winchcombe, when it was the capital of Mercia, is hardly likely to have existed without a wall of enclosure; and, indeed, its walls are actually spoken of by writers of later date. The bank in question may now be accepted as a fragment of the walls, and as evidence that Winchcombe, like Hereford, Huntingdon, Wareham, Sandwich, and many other places, had only enclosing banks of earth with palisades, and not walls of masonry, in early times.

A prehistoric flint-scrapers was found among the earth excavated. It need not be accepted as evidence of the banks being of earlier date than Saxon times. They are found all over the Chiltern district, and it was most probably thrown up from the surface when the banks were raised. In the field between the bank and the northern churchyard are many small banks, visibly at right angles with one another. Two or three little trenches were cut through these, but without anything being found to determine their age.

An excavation was made in a raised bank more to the east, in the field beyond the northern approach to the two Abbey houses, known to some of the workmen as "The Cemetery",—a name, the origin of which I could not trace. Here a feeble foundation of loose stones was met with, and a detached block of similar formation, but nothing more. Between this spot and the two houses is a pond of water. The regularity of line of the sides at once suggested the Abbey fish-pond,—a belief that was strengthened by hearing that the extent of water had been materially reduced by filling up not many years ago.

Before beginning the serious and costly work of excavating for the actual site of the Abbey, it became imperative to examine the whole area with great care, and this was done with the aid of the large-scale Ordnance Map. The site may be described mainly as orchard and pleasure-grounds, extending from Back Lane on the north, to High Street (almost in the centre of Winchcombe) in the south; and from the east end of the parish church (where there are modern gates, and a path up to the two houses) to Chapel Lane on the east; the site being divided by fences and by a long wall into strips in various owner-



ships. High Street makes a bend around this site, and it is recorded that in the present century this was even more so than at present. The road was then brought more to the north.

The south-west portion of this space is marked on the Ordnance Map as the site of "King Kenulph's Palace",<sup>1</sup> that of the "Abbey" is marked as being close to the two Abbey houses, and that of the "Abbot's House" is noted as being to the east of them. This latter is in reality that of a building erected, after the Dissolution, out of its materials, and called "The Abbey House", a name now transferred to the two other buildings. After many vicissitudes it became the Parish Workhouse, and was pulled down during the present century.

The doorway remains *in situ*, now forming a pretty Elizabethan gateway, detached from other buildings.<sup>2</sup>

There being not a single fragment of ancient ruin above ground, I turned my attention to the two Abbey Houses, where I had detected ancient work seventeen years previously. Having obtained permission in each case, the interiors were surveyed as well as the exteriors. In the more easterly of the two, which is the most modernised, I had the gratification of finding that the upper floor possessed an original roof of massive oak with open timbers, and arched ribs of fifteenth century date. There is also a pretty oak door in one of the divisions, agreeing well in style with Mrs. Dent's recently recovered door.

It was evident, beyond doubt, that here was indeed a portion still remaining of the Abbey buildings, and that this floor was once part of a long gallery extending to the west, over the modernised part. The adjoining house is separated only by an intervening private road of approach from Back Lane. It was once joined to it by at least a wall, if not a building, now removed. Its walls are ancient, of early sixteenth or late fifteenth century date, with additions in the Elizabethan style, corresponding in character with the demolished "Abbey

<sup>1</sup> Some ancient ruins, called locally "The Palace", stood to the rear of Mrs. Newman's house, on the opposite side of the roadway, next to the new Congregational Chapel. This is by far the more likely site.

<sup>2</sup> There is a view of this house, and also of the existing doorway, in Mrs. Dent's book on Sudeley Castle and Winchcombe.

House"; a doorway being the counterpart of some of those in the quadrangle of Sudeley Castle.

Mrs. Smith having given me leave to inspect the interior, I found that the upper floor had once been a long gallery with an open timber roof of plainer design than the other.<sup>1</sup> With the evidences of this existing work I concluded, since the fishpond was beyond the houses, that the Abbey was not likely to have been beyond the fishpond, with the latter to form a separation between the principal buildings and those which were evidently of secondary importance. I concluded, therefore, that the Abbey Church must have stood next to the High Street, with the cloisters, chapter-house, refectory, etc., on its north side. This arrangement would have enabled the secondary and more important building to join on to each other. The plan is, in fact, similar in its general lines to the position of the Bishop of Dover's House in the Canterbury Precincts, to the Canterbury Monastery. I accordingly laid down on the Ordnance Map a probable position for a large church under these conditions, and late in the day of my survey I set out the line for a trench to be cut across it. The spot was in Mr. Smith's orchard, separated from High Street by a belt of plantation.

I was at the works early the following morning, and was gratified to find that the trench had encountered ancient foundations at each end. These remains were eagerly excavated. They proved to be the north face of a long length of massive wall at one end, and the rough foundations of a huge pier at the other. The former, on being followed, was found to extend a great distance east and west. The pier proved to be one dividing the nave from the south aisle.

The trench being continued northwards came upon the remains of another wall parallel to the former one. All the workmen were then employed in tracing the extent of these walls until the outline of the nave of a large church was laid bare, the west point of which extended beyond the hurdle-fence dividing the property in Mr. G. Smith's occupation from that belonging to Mrs. Arthur Smith.

<sup>1</sup> A large box in this roof is filled with human bones, discovered when the widening of High Street, already referred to, was carried out.

Going eastwards, the south-west respond of a central tower was cleared, together with a broken mass of masonry, showing all that remained of the huge pier which supported it. The excavators found the rough walling within 14 or 15 ins. only of the existing surface, and the whole area covered with a thick mass of broken mortar and plaster from the demolished buildings, the latter being sufficient to account for the stunted growth of the fruit trees which try to grow on the site.

No floor-line being met with, and all the masses of walling being so rough, led to the conclusion that the fabric had been demolished to below the level that it had occupied. This proved to be the case by the actual discovery of a few slabs of oolite paving which were met with *in situ*, adjoining the line of the north aisle wall, where about 4 or 5 ft. of walling also remained to a height of 7 or 8 ins. This small portion is, indeed, all that was found of the inner face of the building above ground.

At the south-west angle three or four stones, the lower slopes of an external plinth, were found at a later period of the excavation. These, and these only, are all that is left of Winchcombe Abbey Church, which once existed above its ground-level. They are now covered by 8 or 9 ins. of made earth.

With this discovery, so disappointing to the hope of the excavations producing results of much importance, so far as ornamental work was concerned, efforts were made to trace the extent of the building by following the actual walls. All those of the nave were met with, together with the foundations of two large pinnacles, or small towers, at the west end. A few plain tiles, red and black glazed, laid diagonally, were met with at the west end of the nave, and there may be more in the uncleared portions of the area; but while the tiles remained, the walling had been entirely removed.

The works were suspended when the pier of the central tower was reached, to be resumed again in February last. Efforts were then made to trace the foundations of the south transepts, but nothing was met with except the mere beginning of the western wall. The north transept presented a heavy mass of rough foundation-work, very irregular in its lines, owing to the removal of a large

part of the work. Here were many signs of reconstruction; and one half of a head of a pointed window, with a trefoil of thirteenth century date, was found built up as old material. A piece of Roman mortar, formed with red, pounded brick, was also found near here, removed from some still more ancient building.

The foundations were traced northwards and eastwards until they were stopped by the diagonal boundary of Mr. G. Smith's kitchen and fruit-garden, which could not be interfered with. Three of the four huge piers of the central tower were laid open, of rough walling only.

Permission having been given by Mrs. Newman (who owns the land from Mr. G. Smith's up to Chapel Lane) for her ground to be opened, there were great expectations of finding the eastern continuation and termination of the chancel in her grounds, with, perhaps, the crypt of an eastern Lady Chapel, following the arrangement of the neighbouring monastery of Evesham. The level of the ground, 8 or 10 ft. above that of Chapel Lane, also led to the hope that the excavations would produce interesting results. Never, alas! was expectation more deceived, for although trenches and cross-trenches were dug in the axis of the building, and at right angles to it (some of them to considerable depth), yet only negative results were obtained.

While the general area of the site is a clayey soil, here it has been gravel. The gravel had been dug out to a considerable depth, and the space filled in with an enormous mass of fallen plaster and mortar from the demolished buildings, brought here for the purpose. This material, invaluable to a road-maker, and not bad for making mortar, had evidently been filled in here in place of ordinary earth, to get rid of it. In fact, the whole of the cloister-court, and all the area up to the two houses, is formed of the same material, the mass of which gives an idea, from its large amount, of the enormous size of the demolished buildings.

All the worked stones had been carefully removed, except a few stray ones met with here and there, and which, to a certain extent, tell the history of the fabric. Near the single pier (the only one which was met with) were a few worked stones, one being part of a large, cir-



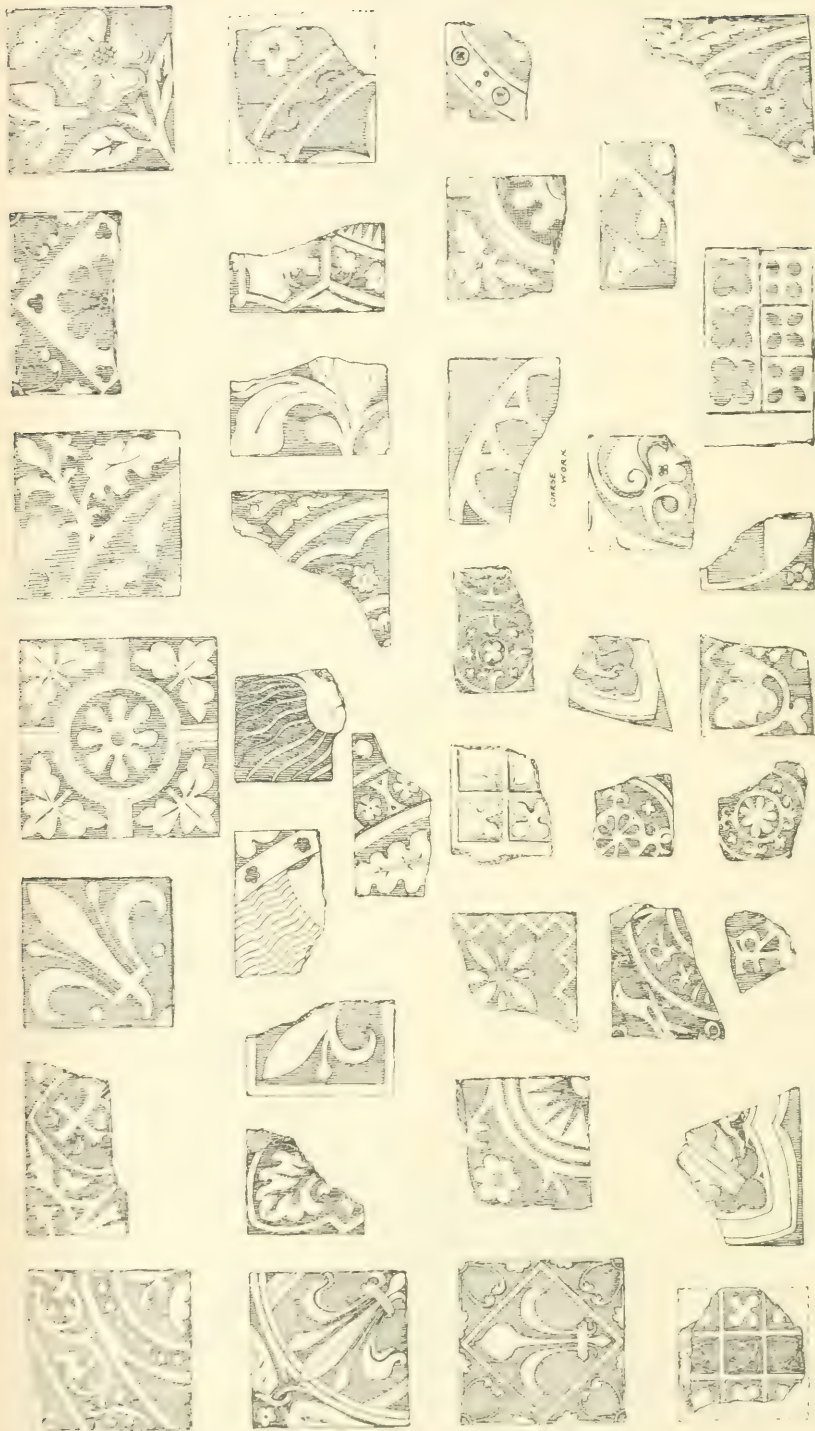
cular Norman cap; another, of a circular base; and a third, of an arch, with a bold roll-moulding. These indications, together with the size of the pier, are sufficient to suggest that the nave was of Norman date, with large cylindrical piers, similar to the local style at Pershore, Gloucester, and Tewkesbury, all neighbouring Benedictine establishments. At the west end, however, the fragments found were of fourteenth and fifteenth century window-tracery and mouldings, the plinth being of the earlier of these dates.

On the south side there was a gap in the wall, and a porch, as at Gloucester, for the entrance of the laity, may have existed there. If so, it was of late Norman date. This was apparent by a goodly number of fragments of zigzag mouldings, which having become detached in the demolition, were left behind in the rubbish when the stonework was removed.

The present level of the ground being very much the same where the nave and the chancel stood, it follows that since the original floor-level of the nave was only a few inches below it, that of the chancel, generally raised some steps above the nave, must have been actually above it. This was found to be the case. It shows that after the demolition considerable pains were taken to level the site, and to bring it to its present condition. The result is but too apparent by the entire disappearance of every stone of the building from above ground.

During the progress of the excavations a large stone coffin, broken, and *minus* its covering slab, was found to the east of the nave-pier. It still contained a few bones, which, like all others that were found in detached portions, were carefully reinterred. Part only of a second coffin was found near the south wall of the chancel. But the most interesting of the interments was found on the north side of the nave. Here a rough coffin, the sides and cover being formed of thin slabs of stone, was met with by the excavators, all the ground around it being black as if from interments in an external churchyard. But it was within the area of the aisle. Close to it was the paving already referred to, which was marked by traces of fire, and some of the top stones were similarly marked. Were these traces of the fire which consumed





# WINCHCOMBE ABBEY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

TILES DISCOVERED IN THE EXCAVATIONS, A.D. 1893.

The Tiles are now preserved at Sudeley Castle, except the last, which is at the Abbey House Gateway.

The Tile fourth of the middle row is incised. The last Tile has a white pattern on a red ground. All the others have yellow patterns on a red ground.

SCALE.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

12 inches

E. P. Loft Brock, F.S.A., del.

the Monastery A.D. 1151? Close at hand were found some fragments of fourteenth century panelling, as if this interment had, in its restored state, appeared above ground as an altar-tomb.

The evidence that it was once outside a smaller church is increased by the discovery, 58 ft. to the east of it, of a mass of rough walling of different description from the later work surrounding it. Here was a rough opening, probably the jambs of a door of the west front of the original church of Saxon times.

While very few fragments of architectural stonework were met with, a great many encaustic tiles, mostly broken, were found among the rubbish. These are all of varying dates, from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries; the former period being marked by small lozenge-shaped tiles of green and yellow, which had been laid in patterns; and the latter by floriated and heraldic devices, and pictorial subjects, some of the latter having had inscriptions.

Thus has passed away the whole of Winchcombe Abbey, except the portions remaining in the two houses. But it is not to be supposed that the materials so systematically taken down have gone far in this district, where stone is so abundant. Winchcombe is an old, stone-built town, and a very cursory examination will show that many at least of the carefully squared blocks used in the buildings have come from elsewhere. Wrought stone is not used ordinarily for the erection of fence-walls, but at Winchcombe this is to be seen in many places; while stones with the diagonal tool-mark lines of Norman date show clearly enough whence the material was derived. It may be safely concluded that all the buildings in the locality, erected when the stone was available, were constructed with it. At Sudeley Castle masses of wrought stone have frequently been found, and these are preserved by Mrs. Dent's care. They consist of many fragments of tabernacles of moulded work, with the fourteenth century ball-flower ornament, and enriched Norman capitals. They were all found in the Castle grounds, presumably old material from the buildings ruined in the civil wars. In the High Street, at the western entrance of the town, a house has a long length



of fifteenth century cornice built in as old material. Opposite the Post Office, in a yard, is a loose boss of thirteenth century date, carved with characteristic foliage; and at a barn at Greet, about a mile and a half from the town, is a fine fragment of a large capital. It formed part of an enriched pier of more than three engaged columns, of the thirteenth century.

To Mrs. Dent is owed the results that have been obtained by her workmen, and in addition it may be gratifying to record that the central line of the Abbey Church is to be defined by two tablets,—one on the east face of the churchyard-wall, and another on the west face of the wall separating Mrs. Newman's land from that in the occupation of Mr. G. Smith. In addition, the position of the great central tower will be marked by another memorial.

It may be noted that so completely was the Abbey ruined, that when Browne Willis made his visit to inspect the site in 1714, he found only a tradition that the tower of the Abbey had been large and fine. This tradition is now proved to be a reality, so far at least as its size was concerned. Its base measured about 40 ft. on each of its four sides.

## HAVE I FOUND THE ROMAN STATION OF "BIBRACTE"?

BY THE LATE J. W. GROVER, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A.

(*Read 7th Dec. 1892.*)

To those who love to tread in the steps of the great Romans I would advise a journey to the Finchampstead Ridges and Cæsar's Camp, near Broadmoor. This part of the world formed the interior of the Windsor Forest of the Middle Ages; now it is on the outskirts of it. The area of that royal domain is much restricted, although I believe this part still appertains to the Crown domain, and is commonly considered as forest. It is very high land, and covered with a vast wilderness of Scotch firs, larch, and spruce. It is sandy, poor soil, and will not repay much cultivation. The astonishing luxuriance of the moss, under the shade of the dense fir-vegetation, is remarkable. The foot sinks deep into this yielding, rich cushion, and the silence of the footfall is only equalled by the fearful solitude around. That is indeed a silence which may be felt; it is so utterly death-like, quite awe-inspiring, and I may say sublime. In no place have I met in these islands such supreme stillness; no bird's note is heard, no sparrow's twitter, no grasshopper's chirp, no dog's bark, no sheep's bells tinkle. No,—literally nothing. It is the silence of death; and as there are no passers-by save the woodman, and no cottages but his home, the impression is weird and awful.

Through this silence and dark gloom the great military Roman road passes in long, straight, undulating line; neither turning to the right hand, nor swerving to the left. Stern and unbending as the conquerors who made it, on it goes over hill and dale; rise and fall, dark and light, it forms one long tunnel amidst the dense pine-woods. It is perfectly straight; it is not used; it is, indeed, impassable for vehicles, being overgrown with rank grass and vegetation and weeds. But there it is, a long, unbroken, majestic line for miles, and telling of the long-forgotten past, when it echoed with the steady tramp of

the Roman cohorts, when it sparkled with the long line of waving helmets reflecting the summer sun, when it heard the grim centurion's stern word of command, when it saw prætors, consuls, tribunes, and worse, chained prisoners, convicts, and slave-gangs, in sad array, filing along its straight, stern way.

Thus it was the great artery of life and intercourse; now it is a thing forgotten, and even our remote Saxon ancestors had so far forgotten its parentage as to ascribe it to the Devil.

This forgotten roadway has acquired interest now. Thanks to the patriotic exertions of the Society of Antiquaries Silchester is being opened up. Now it is supposed, rightly or wrongly, that Silchester was "Calleva Atrebatum". I will not discuss that, for I fear no discussion will help much. We must accept it.

Now Silchester, or Calleva, had four great gates, with guard-rooms and sentries, as the Society of Antiquaries have shown. From one of these gates, on the east, the traveller would start along the straight road I have described for London. He would have forty-four miles to go, and his journey would be through pines and solitude till he emerged in the sunny Thames valley at Staines, which was the "Ad Pontes"; thence the road is contemporary with the modern one, and nearly straight to London.

Silchester, judging from the size of its Forum, or market-place, must have been a place of considerable importance, occupying a position somewhat similar to that which Reading now holds. More accurately, it is forty-five miles west-south-west of Charing Cross, and it is eight miles and a quarter south-west by south from Reading. It is about five miles and a half north of Basingstoke, twenty-five miles from Staines (or "Ad Pontes"), twenty-nine miles from "Venta Belgarum" (which Bede says is Winchester), thirteen from "Spina" (generally known as Speen), near Newbury. It forms the junction of a number of Roman straight roads, all pointing to it.

In the seventh *iter* of Antoninus the distances are given as twenty-two Roman miles from "Venta" (Winchester) to "Calleva Atrebatum", which we call Silchester. From "Calleva" to "Pontibus" (Staines) the dis-

tance given is twenty-two Roman miles; then on from "Pontibus" to London, twenty-two miles more. Except the total distance to London, of forty-four miles, the other lengths do not agree very well with actual dimensions, and we can only suppose that errors have crept into the text. There is, however, sufficient approximation to the truth to enable us to see, with the assistance of the Ordnance Map, that no other places correspond more closely to the names I have given for the two stations of "Calleva" and "Ad Pontes". The subject is one of very great difficulty, and requires some forbearance, or merciful handling.

Now if we turn to Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon* (p. 135), we find this passage:—"If the traveller, when he entered Britain, desired to visit the western parts of the island, he left 'Londinium' by its western gateway, and proceeded along the great road leading through the present towns of Brentford and Hounslow to Staines, where it crosses the Thames over a bridge, from which the Roman town at this place took the name of 'Pontes'. Having here passed over the river, the traveller came to a town named 'Bibracte', the position of which is not known, and then continued his way through the rich and varied country to the great town of 'Calleva', the walls of which, as they still remain at Silchester, on the northern border of Hampshire, enclose an area of three miles in circuit."

Wright must have got this from the twelfth *iter* of Richard of Cirencester, which gives "Bibracte" as twenty Roman miles from "Calleva Attrebatum", and twenty miles from "Londinium". Yet with strange inconsistency Wright pronounces this book, in his opinion, "a mere fabrication". I believe time has, in several instances, shown it to be correct, and modern discoveries have proved its worth. Anyhow, as far as it goes, it is Wright's only authority for "Bibracte", and it shows there was such a place. Now where was it?

The very able writer of an article on "A Corner of Mercia", in *Blackwood's* September Number of 1887, endeavours to show that it was Bray, the parish in which the town of Maidenhead stands, and where it is supposed a ford existed across the Thames, near the spot where



Brunel's magnificent brick bridge carries the Great Western Railway over the river. There is a good deal to be said in favour of this suggestion. The word "street" occurs close by, at Cippenham, in the parish of Burnham, in Bucks. We have also Patey Street, also on the Berkshire side of the river, in a line from Bray to Silchester : hence we may be pretty sure that a Roman way or some sort existed on this line. Roman coins have been found in the parish of Hitcham, near the present Bath Road, in Bucks, and are in my possession.

There evidently was an ancient (probably pre-Roman) road going due west from London, very near the course of the present Great Western Railway ; but I do not think that was the road given in the Itineraries ; and I do not think Bray is a satisfactory site for "Bibracte", although there is some similarity in the names, though very little. I think Wright is correct in fixing the place as somewhere between Silchester and Staines, and I think that the actual spot is to be found near Cæsar's Camp at Easthampstead, on the very high ground adjoining Broadmoor Asylum. I also think that the name has survived in the village of Bracknell, and this town "Bibracte" was the capital of the Bibroci, the ancient inhabitants of Surrey and Berkshire. The survival of the single syllable after fifteen hundred years is remarkable ; yet the "Brac" is unmistakable, and too emphatic to be accidental. The prefix and affix may and have undergone variations, but the root of the word remains.

The situation of Cæsar's Camp is remarkable. On the top of a lofty eminence, it commands the view of the whole district. A glance at the map will show its singular position with respect to Silchester and Staines in plan, nearly midway ; obviously the halting-place for any one making the journey.

But the site of the roads is conclusive. Two exist : one passing on the southern side of the Camp, evidently the original road ; a second one exists on the north side. This must have been the work of later times ; manifestly made by later generations of Romans to shorten the distance to London by cutting off a corner. Another Roman road runs from the Camp south-easterly. The road on the north side is now called the "Nine Mile Ride". It

is manifestly of Roman origin; for although the connection with Silchester is gone, it will be found to point direct to the eastern gate of the city. The southern road can be traced right through to Silchester. It goes by the name of "The Devil's Highway". It gives the name to the Duke of Wellington's estate of Strathfieldsaye,— "Streets"-field-saye.

But the most curious fact remains to be told. Between Cæsar's Camp and the southern road, the fir-plantation goes by the name of "The Town". It is now innocent of the presence of a single dwelling or the site of one; yet the name is suggestive indeed, I may say conclusive. Here stood the Roman mansion, or posting-station, of what I venture to say was "Bibracte". This spot deserves systematic excavation and research. I hope it may some day have it. I have explored it carefully, but the dense pine-woods and rank, thick moss prevent any one from judging what is below; but my views were confirmed by the discovery of a quantity of Roman brick and tiles in the neighbourhood, and also by the vague traditions of the cottagers not far off as to the existence of pavements and foundations in the vicinity.

I trust these remarks may induce residents in the district to take an interest in the subject, and help towards proper research, as the Society of Antiquaries has awakened a proper interest in Silchester itself. The road which leads to it is not unworthy of consideration, especially if it helps to the identification of the site of the somewhat mythical station of "Bibracte".

Mr. Compton made the following remarks on the paper:—

Were it not that our late lamented friend had, by the very title and frame of his subject, invited discussion, it would be thought invidious to criticise the work of one who is no longer with us, and unable to reply to an adverse opinion; but I feel that we shall be doing more respect to his memory if we endeavour to answer the question he has left us as a legacy, even if we do not follow the conclusions he has arrived at.

The only reference to "Bibracte" as a station, in any of the Itineraries in England, is that mentioned in the twelfth *iter* of Richard of Cirencester, which is thus stated:—

"Ab aquis Londinium usque sic Verlucione m.p. xv Cunctione xx Spinis xv Calleva Attrebatum xv Bibracte xx Londinio xx."

Reynolds, in his introduction to the Antonine Itinerary, says: "This twelfth *iter* of Richard gives the remainder of the fourteenth *iter* of the Roman general from Bath to 'Calleva Atrebatum', and is continued to London by the seventh *iter*. 'Bibraete' is inserted in this stage instead of 'Pontibus'; and he puts "Bibraete" at Bray, and "Calleva" at Reading. Thus, in the fourteenth *iter* of Antonine, "Aquis Solis" to "Calleva", the first four stations agree with Richard both in names and distances; and the seventh *iter* gives "Pontibus" xxii instead of "Bibraete" xx, and "Londinio" xxii instead of xx.

"Bibraete" is found in the Antonine Itinerary for Gaul. It was a town of Gallia Celtica, belonging to the Ædui, the same as "Lugdunensis" (*hodiè* Lyons); and some suppose it to be the same as "Augustodunum" (*hodiè* Autun), and Caesar describes it (*Bell. Gallico*, B. i, c. 23) as by far the largest and best stored town of the Ædui, where he engaged and defeated the Helvetii when he advanced on the town for the purpose of obtaining corn for his army; but he makes no mention of it in his account of his invasion of Britain, though he says (B. v, c. 21) that after defeating Cassivellaunus at the passage of the Thames he received the submission of the Bibroci, which Camden says inhabited the hundred of Bray in Berkshire.

The difficulty in accepting Mr. Grover's theory that "Bibraete" is near Caesar's Camp at Easthampstead, consists in supposing that "Bibraete" was a station between "Calleva" and "Pontes". In so doing he has followed the passage he quotes from T. Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, which is a cursory description of a journey from London to the western part of the island, giving no measurements, but accepting "Bibraete" as a town in addition to, and not in substitution of, "Pontes"; and this, assuming that Mr. Grover is right in placing "Calleva Atrebatum" at Silchester (though this is by no means universally accepted, Reynolds placing it at Reading, and Mr. Gordon Hills at Haslemere, though he says "Calleva Segontiacii" is Silchester; and others placing "Calleva Atrebatii" at Challow, near Newbury), is fatal to his theory that Caesar's Camp is "Bibraete", as it is only about fourteen miles from Silchester, and twelve from Staines, which is the generally accepted station "Ad Pontes" (though some writers place this station at Old Windsor, and others at Egham), and leaving the distance thus dropped to be added to the twenty miles from "Bibraete" to London, which Richard says is only twenty miles.

## STONEHENGE.

BY EDGAR BARCLAY, ESQ.

*(Read 7th June 1893.)*

THE paper I am about to read is a *résumé* of an illustrated monograph on "Stonehenge", which is placed on the table. Familiarity with the characteristics of Stonehenge, and acquaintance with its literature, are presumed, and the numerous theories which it has given rise to will not be discussed.

The ground-plan of the stones is taken from Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie's survey. For the earthworks the *Ordnance* has been followed.

It will be well, in the first place, to state some of the

## CONCLUSIONS ARRIVED AT IN THE MONOGRAPH.

It is concluded that Stonehenge was a temple, and that its constructors were the British Celts, the same race which raised the round barrows which stud the Downs in its vicinity. Also that it was erected in historic times, probably in the early days of Roman dominion, before the manners of the natives became changed by contact with foreigners. It is further concluded that the probable reason why Stonehenge was erected on this exposed and barren upland is because at that time allied tribes were already accustomed to meet in this district, which was sanctified by having from time immemorial been selected for a burial-ground of the distinguished dead.

Stonehenge consisting of several separate parts, and constructed of different kinds of stone, the general opinion of writers has been that these parts have been constructed at different epochs. The reverse conclusion is now arrived at, viz., that all the stones were erected at the same time. In the first instance, the unity of the design is demonstrated by the proportions which the measurements of the several parts bear to each other. This unity could not be proved if the outlying stones, viz., the "Sun-Stone", the "Slaughter-Stone", and the "Stones of the Earth-Circle" were omitted from consideration. These are



shown to be inseparable from the temple. The unity of the design proved, the corollary is that all the stones were erected at the same time. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that chippings of the Sarsens, Horn-Stones, and Blue-Stones, have been found in a barrow a little to the west of Stonehenge, together with a bronze spear-head and an interment of ashes.

It should be noted that there are but four horn-stones at Stonehenge, and these are the smallest stones. They can have supplied but a scanty supply of chippings, a minute fraction of the total number.

The horn-stone within the barrow proves that the Sarsens, Blue-Stones, and Horn-Stones, received a dressing at the same time, and that specimens of these rocks were selected and placed within the mound when, having been freshly broken off, the difference in the quality of these rocks was discernible, and when this difference was of significance. Doubtless these chippings of the sacred rocks were regarded as charms, having magical power to avert evil from the spirit of the dead.

The significance of the avenues and the great enclosure named the "Cursus", and their relation to Stonehenge, has hitherto been insufficiently considered, the "Cursus" having been regarded as an independent earthwork. These alignments are shown to be appendages of the temple, and to have been constructed at the same time. The proof rests in the orientation of the Avenue or Approach, and the position occupied by the Sun-Stone with respect to the prominent tumulus to the east of the temple. These arrangements determined the orientation and length of the "Cursus", and a theory of plotting is given which accounts for the characteristics observable.

For the present argument, viz., that Stonehenge is *not* of prehistoric antiquity, it is necessary to show—

Firstly, that the bronze spear-head found in the barrow containing Stonehenge chippings does not necessarily imply a very high antiquity.

Secondly, that the majority of the tumuli were already on the Down when Stonehenge was erected.

Firstly, that iron was rare in Britain at the time of the invasion we learn from J. Caesar's *Commentaries*; and the trivial nature of the imports into Britain during the

Peace of Augustus, and the barbarous character of the natives, is mentioned by Strabo. Thus it is difficult to believe that weapons of bronze were altogether discarded at the time of the conquest. That some tribes were armed with weapons of iron, others with those of bronze, and that others, again, used both, was the opinion of Dr. Thurnam, than whom no one is a better authority on the Wiltshire barrows.

Secondly, that the majority of the tumuli were on the land when Stonehenge was erected, is proved by their distribution, and by the alignments which traverse the barrow-studded Down. To this we shall presently return when speaking of the earthworks.

The trilithon is a feature which distinguishes Stonehenge from other sacred circles in this country. It is possible that this solitary example of the trilithon is an independent, insular invention derived from the dolmen; but the accounts that we possess of trilithons in North Africa, in Syria, and in France, and Palgrave's account of the stone wonder of Kaseem in Arabia, lead to the more probable conclusion that this feature of Stonehenge is derived from the south.

If we admit that Stonehenge offers evidence of foreign influence, such a conclusion confirms the opinion that it is of late date, because it is impossible to believe the Celts of interior Britain were influenced by peoples under Roman sway before the Peace of Augustus at the earliest. We learn from J. Cæsar that in his day the foreign trade of Britain was in the hands of the Veneti of Brittany; and from the same source, that these people looked to the *north*, not to the south, for guidance in religious matters, and sent young men over to this country to study the tenets of Druidism. This being so, it is incredible that the Celts of interior Britain can have been induced by the Veneti to introduce a feature into their temple which appears to be native to the shores of the Mediterranean. The trilithons, therefore, show the temple to be of comparatively late date.

Tacitus mentions that Agricola, besides being attentive to provide the sons of British chieftains with a liberal education, encouraged the native chiefs to erect temples, in order to reclaim the tribes from their warlike habits.

There appears to be no reason why Stonehenge should not be a product of this policy. It is a sacred circle in conformity with the traditions of the country, and the same beds of natural boulders from which the great temple of Avebury had previously been constructed, have also supplied the material for the more important parts of the temple of Stonehenge. Although the rocks which compose the latter have received a rough dressing, the execution is very rude, as we should expect it to be. It does not, however, follow that the man who conceived this work, and superintended its construction, was an untutored barbarian; on the contrary, it may well be that he was conversant with ideas current at Massilia, which great centre of learning was resorted to for instruction by Roman and barbarian alike.



Restoration, showing Axis.

The Tip of the Sun-Stone appearing above the large Blue Stone, 67,  
Centre of Cleft coincides with West Side of Blue Stone 40.

## UNITY OF DESIGN.

The most remarkable feature of the Stonehenge design is the manner in which the temple is orientated to the rising sun of the summer soistice. This is done by means of the central trilithon and the Heel-Stone or Sun-Stone. At that season an observer on the Earth-Bank, at its point of furthest removal from the Sun-Stone, was so situated that the tip of the Sun-Stone, which appeared through the cleft of the central trilithon, coincided exactly with the visible horizon, and indicated the position of the rising sun at this season.



Showing how the Axis of the Temple is given by the Sun-Stone and the central Trilithon.

The direction of a shadow having been obtained at the solstitial sunrise, it is evident that if a line of any given length, with this direction, were marked on the face of the Down, and the cardinal points were determined, a triangle would be obtained, and the relative proportions of its sides could be learnt by measurement. Such a triangle appears to have been the base of Stonehenge measurements. The axis of the temple corresponds to the direction of a



shadow at the midsummer sunrise, and probably indicates a moment considered propitious for sacrifice to the sun-god. Any one standing on this line, beside the Slaughter-Stone, would be unable to observe the rising sun, he being in the shadow of the Sun-Stone, the Hel-Stone, or covering stone; but being on the axis he could receive a signal for the death-stroke from an observer on the earth-circle behind the central trilithon; and on account of the Slaughter-Stone being placed obliquely with the axis one half only of the stone would be in shadow. Thus, provided a clear sun-rise, the sun would shine on the flowing blood of the victim, and this would be construed as a propitious omen.

The distance of the Sun-Stone from the Slaughter-Stone, viz., 100 ft., indicates the initial measure marked off on the axis, or the hypotenuse of the base-triangle; and the proportion of the hypotenuse to the perpendicular is as 100 to 64; the perpendicular corresponding with the meridian of the Sun-Stone, and its direction given by a shadow at noon.<sup>1</sup>

These proportions determine the measurements of the several parts. Thus the centre of the temple has been fixed by adding the hypotenuse to the perpendicular: as 64 is to 100, so is 164 to 256.2 ft., or four times the perpendicular ( $4 \times 64 = 256$  ft.), the distance from the centre to the Sun-Stone. From a centre thus determined a circle has been described, the point of the Slaughter-Stone gives the measure of the radius; and the circumference has been divided into sixteenths. This is shown by the placing of the "Stones and Mounds of the Earth-Circle." The most important measurement of the temple, viz., the diameter of the lintel-ring, 101 ft., results directly from this division of the circle, as shown by Diagram I.

The western stone of the Earth-Circle does not, however, agree with the centring of the sarsen piers, but with the outer face of the temple. Its placing is explained by Diagram II.

The diameter, AB, is given by the mounds. If the radius of the Earth-Circle be measured off twice on the circum-

<sup>1</sup> This proportion inclines the axis  $56^{\circ}12'$  from north point. Knighton Down, above which the sun rises, is higher than Stonehenge Down.

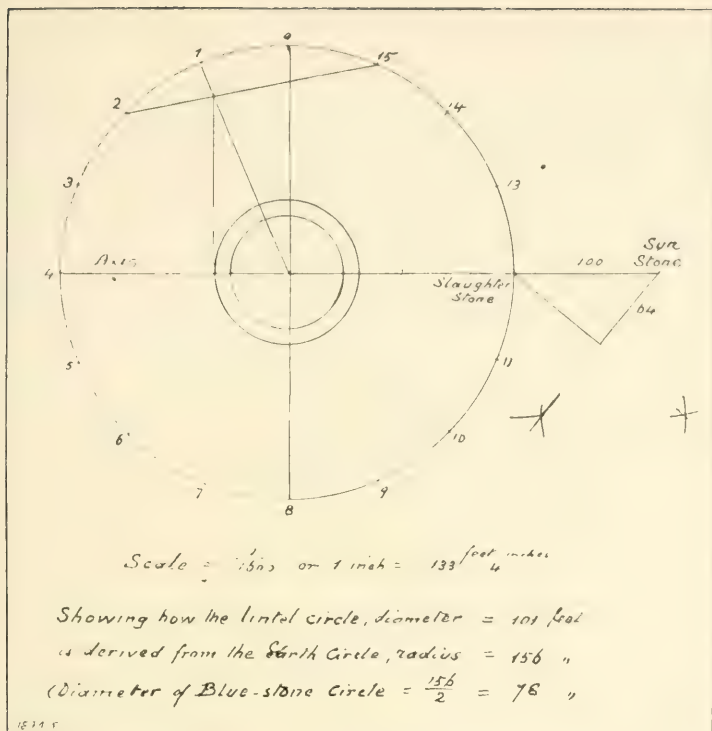


DIAGRAM I.

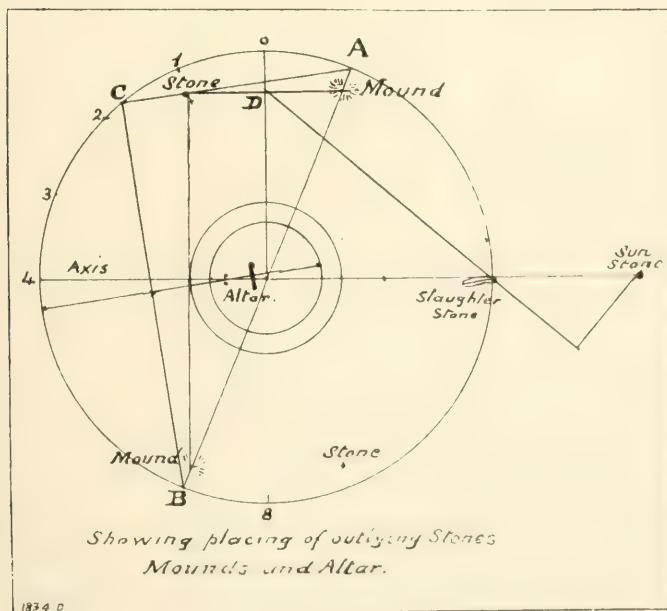


DIAGRAM II.

ference, from B, we obtain the point C. BC is, therefore, the side of an equilateral triangle described within the circle, and the altar is parallel to BC. The line CA passes through the western stone of the earth-circle. D, in line with stone and mound, is determined by prolonging a side of the base-triangle.

The placing of the stones and mounds, which form a quadrilateral figure exactly containing the temple, is thus explained, also why stones and mounds alternate.

It can be shown that all the more salient measurements of Stonehenge, the placing of the Sun-Stone, Slaughter-Stone, and Stones of the Earth-Circle, in regard to the centre; the diameter of the Sarsen Circle in regard to the centring of the piers which support the lintels; the diameter of the Blue Stone Circle; the distance of the central trilithon from the centre; the depth of the horseshoe-figure from central trilithon to choir-screen; and the dimensions of the altar-stone; that all these measurements are directly derived from the base-triangle; and as the proportions of this triangle are due to an observation of the sun, all the salient measurements of Stonehenge may truly be said to result from an observation of that luminary.

In this manner the unity of the design can be proved, the corollary being that all the stones were erected at the same time; which conclusion is again confirmed by the contents of the barrow to the west of Stonehenge, as already mentioned.

#### SYMBOLISM OF STONEHENGE.—THE SARSENS.

The characteristic features of the temple are not, however, explained by showing method in the plotting; and these, as they cannot be accounted for by practical or æsthetic motives, must be of a symbolical nature, and connected with the worship to which the temple was dedicated; in the same spirit as our churches are built on the figure of a cross.

Stonehenge is shown to have been a temple not merely by characteristics of design, but by the fact that the blue-stones of which it is partly constructed have been brought here from a great distance; and without they had been regarded with superstitious reverence they would not

have been so brought, because other stones nearer to hand would have answered all practical purposes.

Finds of bulls' heads and harts' heads and charcoal, repeatedly dug up within the precincts, show that these animals have there been sacrificed.

According to Tacitus, the sacred rites of the Britons were similar to those of the Gauls, and early travellers' tales inform us that the latter worshipped an earth goddess with shrill music and noisy rites, in honour of Ceres and Proserpine; and that Druidesses lived apart in companies, devoted to the service of the moon-goddess. Celtic tribes settled in Gallo-Asia, or Galatia, in Asia Minor, worshipped a supreme "nature-goddess" or "moon and earth-goddess", and her shrine attained a world-wide fame as that of the Phrygian Cybele, "the mother of the gods."

When her worship was introduced into Italy, the Romans sent a special embassy to Pessinus, "and the rough field-stone which the priests of the place liberally presented to the foreigners as the real 'Mother Cybele' was received by the community with unparalleled pomp."

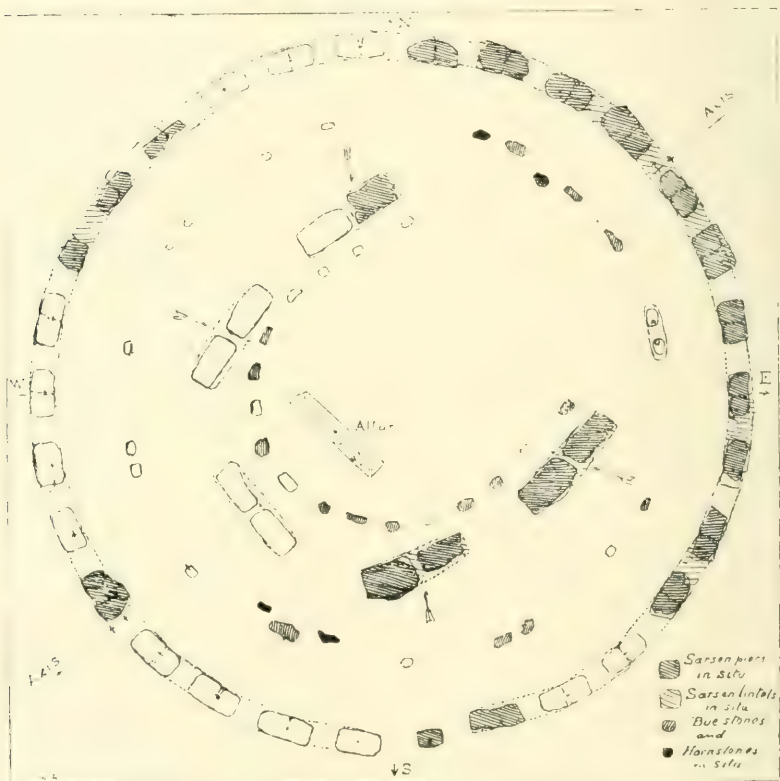
It is probable that the rough field-stone which the Celts of Britain removed from the Avebury Downs, and transported to the brow of Salisbury Plain, was there set up as religious symbols in honour of a nature-goddess. Thus the worship followed by Celtic tribes who in historic times migrated from Europe into Asia, affords a clue for explaining the symbolism of the Celtic temple of Stonehenge.

The Sun-Stone, or Index-Stone, which measures the cycle of the year, is doubtless a symbol of the sun, the primal fountain of life; it bows towards the temple of the goddess. When we look for a symbol of the lesser light, the moon, we find her crescent shape and full disc represented in the two figures which form the temple. In conformity with this idea we find the Sarsen Circle is divided into thirty equal divisions by its piers, as the month (the cycle of time derived from the moon) is divided into thirty days. The lunar crescent and full disc which form the temple of the earth-goddess are together a symbol of increase and plenty.

The shadow of the Sun-Stone at the midsummer sun-



rise is directed towards the centre of the crescent symbol, whilst the extremities or horns of this figure are pointed in the direction of the Sun-Stone. The symbol is appropriate to the season; the season when the nature-goddess, enjoying the maturity of summer, was fabled to be espoused to her celestial bridegroom, the sun-god; whilst in August she brings forth her increase. Then the symbol of the season is the disc of the harvest moon, which we find typified in the zone of the temple.



Ground-Plan of Stonehenge restored.

In confirmation that such ideas were once current, we find Irish feasts and fairs, called "Lugnassed", were held in honour of Lug, the sun-god. These were held in the neighbourhood of the great burial-places of olden times in Ireland; and in discussing the origin of the name, Professor Rhys says that "we learn from it that the principal thing the celebration commemorated was the

union of Lug, the sun-god, with the land." There appear to have been similar feasts in Britain, and in Gaul, at Lugduna, a town on the Rhone, named after the god.

The double symbol of the lunar crescent and full disc is shown crowning the head of the goddess Diana of Ephesus, a nature-goddess, upon a coin in the British Museum of the age of Antoninus Pius. She is represented with numerous breasts, being the universal mother and nourisher. At Massilia there was a celebrated temple of this goddess.

The orientation of Stonehenge, and the relation of the cleft of the central trilithon to the Sun-Stone, point out to us that a religious celebration took place at the summer solstice. If one cleft be significant of a festival, a presumption is raised that so are the other four clefts; and if so, that the year (which we find measured by means of the Sun-Stone) was computed to consist of twelve months of thirty days + five feast days, or of months of thirty and thirty-one days. Presuming this to have been the case, we ought to be able to date these five festivals by the positions of the clefts within the circle.

If the central cleft be reckoned to indicate the middle of summer, in regard to the division of the year into months, then we find the other four clefts indicate the first of May, or the coming in of summer; the end of August, or the close of summer; the end of October, or the coming in of winter; and the beginning of March, the close of winter and beginning of spring.

The design fails to indicate a winter festival, and the temple was probably then deserted, as we should expect it to be from its exposed position, and from the inclemency of the season.

The solstice not occurring in the middle of the summer, its position with regard to the other four clefts appears to be indicated by the altar being placed obliquely to the central trilithon beneath which it lies. A line inclined to the axis, like the Slaughter-Stone, and passing through the centre of the altar and the cleft of the central trilithon, shows on the circle the position of the solstice in regard to the placing of the other four clefts. (See Diagram II.)

Thus the remarkable placing of the Altar and Slaughter

Stones is accounted for, and the symmetry of the temple was maintained.

The year, composed of months of thirty and thirty-one days, as indicated by the positions of the clefts, is almost identical with our own, which suggests that Stonehenge signalises an adjustment of the Celtic festivals to the Roman year. We learn from J. Cæsar that the old Gallic year was computed, not by the sun, but by the moon.

#### THE BLUE STONES.

If the placing of the larger stones be concerned with a symbolism touching the celestial deities and cycles of time given by the sun and moon, it must be conceded that the smaller stones (arranged so as to form similar though smaller figures) would be in harmony with the larger, if they, too, were consecrated to the celestial gods, and if their placing was significant of smaller cycles of time, of the division of the month into the week and days.

It is contended that the unusual division of the Blue Stone Circle, and the placing of all the Blue Stones, is due to an ancient astrological figure which is concerned with the planets, and the week of seven days with planetary nomenclature, and which accounts for the order of succession of the days of the week.

The diagram in question is given at the end of the Appendix, and the Blue-Stones are shown restored by its aid. It shows why there is only one Blue-Stone impost, and why it lies where we find it; it accounts for some stones being placed in pairs; why we find a group of three stones in the Blue Stone Circle; why two of this triplet, which are horn-stones, are placed somewhat nearer to the centre than the one they flank. Moreover, it effects a restoration with remarkably little violence. Five stones, though prostrate, occupy their proper positions, and merely require raising, and others are displaced but a few feet.

It appears that very few are missing; the Blue Stones, in this respect, offering an instructive contrast to the Sarsens. This fact is shown by the placing of the Blue Stones *in situ*, without inquiring into the meaning of their placing. Presuming the Blue Stone Circle to be filled in

with stones, so that equal spaces be between them, then the chances *against* stones being taken away *accidentally*, and yet leaving a remainder disposed as we find them, are, according to the computations of Prof. Flinders Petrie, as 5,000 to 1.

If it be conceded that the diagram offers an explanation of the placing of the Blue-Stones, it follows that Stonehenge is not of prehistoric antiquity. At the time of the conquest the week of seven days was well known, and coming into vogue, in the south of Europe. Though of high antiquity in the East, it only found its way to Rome after the conquest of Egypt.

The symbolism of Stonehenge is appropriate to a faith in the celestial gods, and is in harmony with the hypæthral character of the temple,—

— “for heaven  
Is as the book of God before thee set,  
Wherein to read his wondrous works, and learn  
His seasons, hours, or days, or months, or years.”



THE EARTHWORKS.

In old days a large concourse of strangers was, doubtless, attracted to Stonehenge to attend the festivals. It is difficult to believe that British villages can have offered them accommodation ; we assume, therefore, that they



were obliged to camp out on the Plain, in the neighbourhood of the temple, and in the midst of an extensive burial-ground. Respect for the spirits of the dead would forbid strangers from camping on this hallowed ground anywhere, where fancy might dictate; therefore, when the temple was erected, an enclosure was constructed for a camping ground. This is named "The Cursus", although a more appropriate name would be "The Fair-Field." It is conveniently situated, being near the temple, and within easy reach of the river. For the most part it lies in a slight depression of the Down, so although but a short distance north of Stonehenge, it is much out of sight, and the hubbub of the encampment was kept apart.



Showing the Orientation of the Avenue and Intersection with the parallel Banks.

There was another reason for this choice of situation. The presence of the Cursus and avenues attached to the temple prove that the tumuli scattered over the Down, singly or in clusters, were already there when Stonehenge was erected. Although there is no perceptible order in their distribution, we find them, as a general rule, on the higher and more conspicuous parts of the Down. By choosing low-lying ground for the Fair-field, the latter escaped the tumuli, or nearly so; for at its western end, which is on the level Down, there are two small barrows within the enclosure, and these must have been on the ground before it was made.

If the land was free of tumuli when Stonehenge was erected, no object can be assigned for constructing the earthworks attached to it, and we are forced to adopt some purely fanciful meaning for the Cursus. A practical reason for connecting the Cursus with the temple

having been found, a presumption is raised that it should show the same characteristics of thoughtful plotting combined with rude execution which we observed in the temple ; and it can be proved that this is the case, that the orientation and length of the enclosed Fair-field have been regulated by deliberate plotting. In this matter we find the prominent barrow a few hundred feet to the east of the temple plays an important part, which leads to the presumption that it may have belonged to a family instrumental in erecting the temple.

The consideration of the relative positions of Tumulus and Sun-Stone, the orientation of the Avenue or Approach and of the Cursus, and the position of a solitary Sarsen stone, lying in Durrington Fields, in line with the straight northern boundary of the Cursus, leads to the belief that all these are parts of the same scheme ; and the boldness of the conception, and the ample scale on which it is carried out, add greatly to the dignity of the temple. The few measurements necessary were, in the first instance, made on the ground between the tumulus and the temple, and (probably with the help of observation-poles) these measurements have determined points on the distant Down. That this is the case is shown by the fact that the original measurements (which are of considerable length) are one-twelfth of those derived from them.

#### WORSHIP AT STONEHENGE.

If, in accordance with the explanation of the symbolism of the temple ; if the trilithons, by their placing within the circle, relate to certain seasons enjoyed by the earth within the cycle of the year, the clefts indicating feast-days celebrating the coming in of these seasons,—then we may presume these religious celebrations were in honour of deities who specially presided over these seasons. If so, the attributes of these deities should correspond with characteristics belonging to the several seasons.

To follow up this inquiry we turn to the pantheon of Gaul, and in the first place find J. Cæsar's mention of the five greater Gaulish gods, whom he equates with Roman gods. Fortunately we find also that French

antiquaries have added further to our knowledge by the study of inscriptions found upon ruined altars. These belong to the Roman period, the period to which our inquiry relates.

There is no difficulty in tabulating all the ascertained attributes of the five great Celtic gods. When this is done, and the five groups of attributes are considered in relation to the seasons indicated by the five clefts of the trilithons of Stonehenge, we then perceive that these various attributes of the gods spring either directly from characteristics of the seasons, or from human employments dependent on those seasons.

The five Celtic deities presiding over these seasons equate with gods with planetary nomenclature, after whom the days of the week are named.

For further confirmation of the theory that the clefts by their placing show the dates of Celtic festivals, we turn to ancient customs, and find a number of very interesting performances having their origin in pagan times, and common alike to the Teutonic and Celtic peoples, still are, or were, celebrated with much precision on the dates indicated by the clefts. On the 1st of May we have well-known May-Day customs and May fires. We have midsummer fires and customs, harvest-homes, and thanksgivings, November fires and spring fires, etc.

These ancient customs aimed in a rude, artless fashion at honouring the gods by rites which commemorated certain seasons, in order that a propitious influence might be brought to bear upon the labours of the field. They were of the nature of charms which might, so men trusted, cause the sun-god to regard them with favour, and to shed prosperity upon the land.

When the Romans were victorious, and the Britons found themselves powerless in their hands, and their priestly caste crushed, they may, thus overwhelmed with disaster, have believed that their offended gods had forsaken them for ever. The project of building a new great temple under the leadership of their own chieftains (who had their own ends to serve in the matter), to be made partly of rocks selected from the same beds of boulders which had previously supplied material for their great temple of Avebury, partly of foreign rocks brought

from lands beyond the sea, where brother Celts prospered under Roman sway, must have been well calculated to raise the drooping spirits of the people, and to inspire them with hope that this work might bring about a renewal of prosperity. The design also, partly native, partly new and foreign, shows the work was entrusted to capable hands, to one who understood the needs of the time.

Thus we may well believe that Stonehenge was erected for a wise and politic purpose, to distract the minds of turbulent tribesmen from war, to promote peaceful intercourse and barter, and the confederation of tribes by inter-marriage; to incite men with mutual interests to meet together to acknowledge the same gods, for the conjuring of fatal animosities, even as men prayed the sun to conjure the demons of disease and blight.

The presence of the barrows enabled marriages to be celebrated on the spot. A feast at the family tomb was the occasion for a young woman about to marry to be formally introduced to the domestic worship of the family she was about to enter. That feasts did occur at Stonehenge barrows we have proof. We find also that Irish fairs in honour of the sun-god were held in proximity to extensive burial-places.

The arrangement of the avenues, the placing of the *Cursus*, the placing of the Sun-Stone and Slaughter-Stone, the break in the lintel-circle, etc., these and other characteristics point out to us what must here have taken place at times of festival. The midsummer festival solemnised the holy espousals of the sun-god with the land. Considering the prevalence of fiery rites at that season, when bonfires rivalled in numbers the lamps of the watchful heavenly host, and the bridegroom came not unawares, then surely sacred fire accompanied vigils at Stonehenge. It probably occupied a central position in front of the altar-table, where the rays of the rising sun fell on it, a position corresponding to the place of the fire in the primitive round hut.

The bond of union of the primitive household was domestic worship, the house-father making offerings to the house-spirit, fire being conceived as sacred,—the manifestation of a beneficent spirit which not only was



the means by which food was rendered fit for the consumption of man, but was the medium also by which men entered into communion with the spirit-world: thus, before eating, a share of the food was cast on the fire for the house-spirits, thus invited to attend the meal.

In the temple men invoked the assistance of the sun, the visible "world-father", the son of the invisible "Spirit of Heaven". Men prayed the lord, the sun, the ruler and saviour of the world, to give them a good harvest, to give them their daily bread, and to deliver them from want.

From the position of the altar-table we perceive that any object placed on it would, at the midsummer sunrise, have its shadow cast on the trilithon immediately behind the altar-stone; also the shadow of the lintel-circle would cross the rock. It has been shown how this circle symbolically alludes to the fulness of August. As the sun rose, the shadow of this circle covered the altar-table. Thus, provided a clear midsummer sunrise, the sun-god, when he regarded the sacrifice in his honour with approbation, at the same moment wrote upon the wall with his sunbeams, his golden reed, an assurance of plenty for the comfort of his worshippers.

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## APPENDIX.

### OBJECTIONS TO THE THEORY THAT THE PRESENT CONDITION OF STONEHENGE OFFERS EVIDENCE OF INCOMPLETION.

The theory rests, firstly, on the apparently accidental positions of the Slaughter-Stone and Altar-Stone, indicating that these stones were never fixed in their intended positions.

Secondly, on the smallness of stone 11 of the Sarsen Circle, leading to the supposition that the builders ran short of fitting material, and consequently that the Sarsen Circle was never completed.

Thirdly, on the irregularities of the Blue Stone Circle, showing the original intention was to fill up this circle with stones equidistant from each other.

The reason why the Slaughter-Stone and Altar-Stone are placed as we find them has been considered when speaking of the purpose and symbolism of Stonehenge. Other considerations confirm the belief that they occupy their intended positions.

It is reasonable to presume that when these weighty rocks were brought to Stonehenge, those in charge of the operation were careful to bring each stone up to the place assigned for it, so as not to have to raise and shift it again. Also, as Prof. Flinders Petrie has pointed out, both these stones lie very level; more so than others which have been accidentally cast on the ground.

It has been suggested that the Slaughter-Stone was once erect, but no reason for its being so has been given; and if so placed, it would hide the Sun-Stone from an observer standing on the axis. We have further proof that it never did so stand: the end nearer the temple is carefully worked, which shows it was not intended to bury it. This worked face shows no sign of tenons: the stone, therefore, was not intended for a pier. The other end has a row of holes sunk in it, which shape it to a point. The presence of these holes assures us that it was not intended to bury this end, for the more rock beneath the soil, the firmer the stone would stand. The holes, it may be urged, evidence an intention to cut a piece off the rock; and as this was not done, they are evidence of incompleteness. This may be, but if the protruding part had been broken off, and we had not the evidence of the line of holes, we should not be quite so sure as we now are, that this end was never buried in the ground.

When considering the proportions of Stonehenge, it was shown that the distance of the pointed end of the Slaughter-Stone from the centre, and from the Sun-Stone, has been calculated; and it is noteworthy that the length and breadth of the Altar-Stone bear a direct relation to the distance of centre from Sun-Stone, and to the diameter of the Sarsen Circle:  $16 \text{ ft.} = \text{length of altar, } 16 \times 16 = 256 \text{ ft.} = \text{from centre to Sun-Stone, } 3 \text{ ft. } 2 \text{ in. width of stone, } 16 \times 3 \text{ ft. } 2 \text{ in.} = 50 \text{ ft. } 8 \text{ in.} = \text{radius, } 2 \times 50 \text{ ft. } 8 \text{ in.} = 101 \text{ ft. } 4 \text{ in.} = \text{diameter of the lintel-ring.}$

In regard to the supposition that the shortness of stone 11 is due to the builders running short of suitable material, it may be remarked that on the Avebury Downs, from whence the Sarsen rocks have been transported, there are hundreds, probably thousands, of boulders lying scattered on the surface of the land.

Pier 10 is *in situ* (it swerves inwards), and pier 12, although prostrate, is fortunately yet on the ground. It is of full size, and the tenons which once held the lintel it supported firmly in its place, are clearly discernible.

The smallness of stone 11 causes a break in the lintel-ring, an important feature in the design. This break probably marks the entrance to the temple. Stone 11 is placed due south of the cleft of the southern trilithon; and with regard to the symbolism of the temple, we note that in conjunction with the cleft, it indicates the beginning of summer, and the beginning of the month, or May-Day.

Facing No. 11 there is an unusually small pier which still supports a lintel, No. 21. These two piers point out to us the method

employed when the Sarsen Circle was divided into thirty equal parts. Piers Nos. 1 and 16, beside the axis, must have been first fixed. The radius, measured off from the centre of 16, east and west, gives centres for Nos. 11 and 21, and these (the base of an equilateral triangle within the circle) agree with the centring of No. 1.

The present ruinous condition of Stonehenge is apparently due, firstly, to the accidents and wear and tear of time: thus the western trilithon fell January 3rd, 1797, on the occasion of a rapid thaw succeeding a very deep snow; secondly, to the ill-considered diggings of the Duke of Monmouth in 1620, which caused the fall of the central trilithon; and thirdly, to *spoliation*.

No less than twenty lintels are missing. These, the best squared stones, and less cumbrous than the piers, were the most tempting to the spoliator. Piers denuded of lintels still show their tenons. Five piers are missing, and portions only of others are on the ground. If the circle had been left incomplete, we should expect to see *one* vacant gap; we find, on the contrary, two gaps, and an extra stout pier (No. 16) dividing them. This also has tenons worked on its upper face; therefore, after the missing lintels were taken down, the piers selected to be taken away were (probably from suitability of shape) selected from different points.

The only reason that can be offered for presuming the Sarsen Circle was left incomplete, is that the work, for some unknown reason, was interrupted, or that the builders, though uninterrupted, and at liberty to complete it, yet lacked the energy and spirit to do so.

The Blue-Stones must have been fixed *after* the Sarsens; certainly after the raising of the Sarsen trilithons, otherwise the Blue-Stone Circle must have been uprooted to let the larger Sarsens pass.

The most arduous operation in connection with the erection of Stonehenge was the transportation of the Blue-Stones; we should, therefore, be forced to believe that although the builders lacked the energy to complete a gap in the Sarsen Circle, they nevertheless had the opportunity and energy to fetch and set up the Blue-Stones. This is a contradiction; we therefore conclude that stones are missing because the building has suffered from spoliation. Fortunately, ancient records which make mention of Stonehenge inform us how this probably came to pass. This ancient account is undoubtedly confused, and is admittedly compiled from earlier documents, and the author, Geoffrey of Monmouth, probably muddled two stories together, and added some embellishing touches of his own.

One story relates to Stonehenge and the transportation of the foreign Blue-Stones; the other to a massacre of British chieftains, and to a monument erected to their memory at a monastery at Amesbury. The Amesbury monument was ordered by the Christian King Aurelius in the fifth century; at the same time he had a

sepulchre constructed, in which the bodies of himself and his brother Uther subsequently reposed.

The story of the construction of the monument and the sepulchre is confused with the erection of Stonehenge and the taking down of a sacred circle of yet earlier date. The probable reason why Stonehenge is mentioned is, because Stonehenge was despoiled, and the monument constructed of the stones taken away.

Another cause of confusion lies in the name Ambrosius. Merlin is introduced into the Stonehenge story, and Prof. Rhys<sup>1</sup> has pointed out that Geoffrey, in another episode of the Merlin myth, names the prophet "Merlin Ambrosius", or "Merlin Emrys". The Christian King is named "Aurelius Ambrosianus"; and we find the word again in Amesbury or Ambresbury, the town of Ambrosius or Emrys.

The British chieftains are said to have been treacherously massacred by the Saxons, who had knives concealed in their leggings. The Saxons seem to have taken advantage of strife between the British Christian party of the cities and the British pagan party under rural chieftains, to invade Kent. We hear of a massacre, and Aurelius Ambrosius, of the Church party, thereupon becomes anointed King. The massacre of the chieftains was, therefore, not the direct act of the Saxons, but was due to the Saxon advance. The chroniclers were members of the Church.

The present condition of Stonehenge shows that the King never honoured his fallen enemies with a wreath of their magical foreign blue-stones, as tradition asserts. They received lintels instead. These appear to have been taken down with the help of some mechanical appliance, "with an incredible facility", but unfortunately not before the young men had uprooted more than half of the Blue-Stones. These probably still lie as they then fell. The five missing piers may have been removed to form the sepulchre.

#### OBJECTIONS TO THE SEPULCHRAL THEORY.

Owing to burials having very generally been found in ruder stone circles in this country, it has been concluded that Stonehenge may have been a temple dedicated to a sepulchral cult, or to the worship of the *manes* of ancestors, and it has, therefore, been called a sepulchral circle. Another reason advanced for this opinion is that certain Indian hill-tribes, who at the present day erect stone-circles, are said to worship the spirits of their ancestors, and from time to time, when enduring unusual hardships, they add a stone to their sacred circles in honour of some ancestor.<sup>2</sup> The theory suggests that human remains may possibly lie concealed beneath the soil at Stonehenge. Excavations have, however, repeatedly

<sup>1</sup> *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, pp. 151, 194.

<sup>2</sup> See article, J. Arthur Evans (*Archæological Review*, 1889), "Stonehenge."



been made, and up to the present time an interment of ashes in the western mound of the earth-circle is the only authentic interment which has been discovered.

The sepulchral theory is also opposed to the fact that the Blue-Stones have been transported hither from a great distance, the nearest locality where this quality of stone might be found being Cornwall, and this is doubtful. We should, therefore, be forced to believe that when it was thought expedient to honour an ancestor with a stone, a distant and probably dangerous expedition, involving immense labour, was undertaken; also that these distant expeditions were invariably directed to the same district in search for a particular quality of stone.

The theory also does not account for Blue-stones being placed in pairs, without it be assumed that the Celts, when honouring their ancestors, honoured married couples. The theory also entirely fails to account for the characteristics of Stonehenge: for example, for the presence of the Sun-Stone and other outlying stones; and the Cursus is also ignored.

No doubt the Celts, like other Aryan nations, believed in the spirits of deceased persons as well as in the spirits of nature. *Domestic* as distinguished from *public* worship is concerned with this belief; and its connection with the institution of marriage accounts, as previously stated, for Stonehenge being erected in the midst of a vast burial-ground.

Should hereafter fresh excavations be undertaken at Stonehenge, and human remains be discovered within the precincts, this would not affect the problems raised by Stonehenge, nor would it prove that the temple was dedicated to a sepulchral cult, any more than tombs, say in St. Peter's, show that building to have been raised for the worship of ancestors.

#### OBJECTIONS TO THEORIES OF PREHISTORIC ANTIQUITY.

That the stones have been worked with steel tools, bronze tools being incapable of cutting such hard rocks, and although they might be cut with flints, it is improbable that this work was executed with such means. For opinion that Celtic chisels of copper, alloyed with tin, were incapable of producing the workmanship we see at Stonehenge, see article by John Rickman, F.R.S., "Antiquity of Avebury and Stonehenge", *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii.

That we have the testimony of an eye-witness, John Webb (1625), that an iron spike was dug up near one of the trilithons, from a depth of 3 ft., in company with the lid of a small stone vase.<sup>1</sup> That the rudeness of other sacred circles is in keeping with what ancient authors assert regarding the barbarous condition of the natives. If at an extremely early date they were capable of raising

<sup>1</sup> *Stone Heng Restored*, p. 124.

a temple like Stonehenge, how is it that there are no other similar examples of their skill?

The alignments prove that Stonehenge was raised when the majority of the barrows were already on the Plain, because if the Down were free of tumuli when the temple was erected, no reason can be assigned for the construction of these alignments.

If Stonehenge belongs to the remote prehistoric period, and the tumuli gradually congregated around it, we should expect to find them arranged with some reference to the temple. There is, however, no perceptible order in their distribution. The barrows, therefore, are older than Stonehenge. There is, however, no reason to believe that the practice of burying the dead in mounds was discontinued before Roman times.

A high antiquity assumes that the design is independent of foreign influence, and is opposed to the theory advocated respecting the placing of both Sarsens and Blue-Stones, and offers no explanation for the introduction of foreign stones.

#### OBJECTIONS TO A DATE LATER THAN THAT PROPOSED.

Mr. Fergusson believed Stonehenge to be a sepulchral monument raised in honour of British princes massacred by the Saxons at Amesbury, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth's account.

Reasons why Stonehenge must be regarded as a temple, and not as a sepulchral monument, have been given. Another may be added. It is incredible that Stonehenge and the barrow containing Stonehenge chippings, constructed at the same date, were both designed for a similar purpose. At the date of the alleged Amesbury massacre, Christianity had been the professed religion of Britain for more than a century. The country was in a distracted and pitiful condition, divided by reckless factions, and overrun with invading barbarians, with dire ruin quickly impending. These times were not favourable for undertaking such an enterprise as the erection of the temple of Stonehenge.

After four centuries of Roman rule, bronze weapons were no longer in use, and interment in barrows was out of fashion.

Prof. Flinders Petrie has attempted to date Stonehenge by the orientation of the central trilithon and Sun-Stone. His final result, by the theory of sunrise observations, is limited to 730 A.D.,  $\pm 200$  years, or perhaps as early as 400 A.D., considering climatic changes. This theory relates to the Sarsens only. On the next page he, however, observes that the Blue-Stones were probably later than the Sarsens. The objections stated against a late date show either that the calculation, or the assumptions upon which it is grounded, should be reconsidered.

## ON THE CENTRE AS DETERMINED BY PROF. PETRIE.

Prof. Flinders Petrie's ground-plan of Stonehenge shows a group of five centres.

Stonehenge being constructed of stones of various quality, it has been suggested that the Sarsens and Blue-Stone portions have been raised at different times. The theory originated in a letter of Mr. Cunningham to Sir R. Colt Hoare. Five centres tend to confirm the theory that the different parts belong to different periods; which is, however, opposed to the evidence of the sarsen, horn-stone, and blue-stone rocks found in the barrow 16.

It will be noted that if we accept the theory that a difference of centring for the Sarsens and Blue-Stones proves these parts to have been erected at different epochs, we ought to conclude also that two expeditions were made at different epochs to obtain the Blue-Stones, there being a difference of centring also between the inner and outer Blue-Stones; also, that although the slight mounds of the earth-circle spread into that circle, and are attachments of it, that these have in reality no connection with it, but belong to a different period; also, that although the stones and mounds of the earth-circle mark out a parallelogram which exactly contains the temple, that this circumstance is nevertheless accidental.

The present method of fixing a centre for the temple differs from that adopted by Prof. Flinders Petrie. It is derived from the Sun-Stone, and is not concerned with the symmetry of either the outer or the inner faces of the sarsen piers, but agrees with the centring of those piers; and it is obvious that their centring had to be considered with great care, otherwise the lintel-circle would have been unsightly. This centre agrees with the stones and mounds, and with the Blue-Stone Circle. There are irregularities in the Blue-Stone Circle which no theory of centring will account for, and which yet appear to be intentional; for instance, the group of three stones of that part, 38, with horn-stones 37 and 39. For former appearance of this group, see Inigo Jones, Plate II. The planetary diagram suggests an explanation for such characteristics.

Although the inner Blue-Stones agree with the unusual division of the Blue-Stone Circle, they are set out from another centre. The method followed appears to be simply a little matter of management or adjustment for the sake of symmetry. The altar-stone, which the inner Blue-Stones closely surround, being placed askew, they range themselves about it better by the method adopted than if set out from the common centre. The earth-circle, if carried across the avenue or approach, would agree with the pointed end of the Slaughter-Stone. This is 156 ft. from the centre, the point on the earth-circle furthest removed from the Sun-Stone being 160 ft. from the centre. The centre of the earth-circle is, therefore, a little further removed from the Sun-Stone than is the centre of the temple: it is, however, on *the axis*.

It has been suggested that this discrepancy shows the earth-circle to have been on the Plain before the temple was erected. Presuming the earth-circle to have been perfect when it was proposed to erect a temple in the middle of it, we then perceive that it was accurately divided into two equal parts by the axis, which line was also made to point to the midsummer sunrise. This accomplished, all that remained to be done in order to find a centre for the temple, was to divide this diameter into two equal parts; but failure attended this extremely simple operation. Finally, when the temple was completed, a considerable portion of the earth-circle must have been destroyed in order to open out the avenue, although we must presume that the earth-ring was regarded with peculiar veneration, otherwise the founders of Stonehenge would never have been at any special trouble to build in the middle of it. A more probable course of procedure is, that the direction of the axis was first obtained by observing the shadow of a pole at the midsummer sunrise, and that the earth-circle was originally correctly struck from a common centre on the axis; and that inaccuracy arose when, the temple being completed, the workmen began to heap up the earth to form the confining ring.

## SINGULAR COINCIDENCES.

It has been shown how the diameter of the temple has been derived from the division into sixteenths of a circle having a radius of 156 ft. The method employed gives a measure of 101 ft. from centre to centre of lintels spanning the axis, which agrees with Prof. Flinders Petrie's survey. The lintels are straight blocks, 10 ft. in length, the inner diameter being 97.5 ft.

The next most important measurement in the temple is the depth of the horseshoe-figure, or the distance from central trilithon to choir-screen, which is 64 ft., equal to the perpendicular of the base-triangle.

$$4 \times 64 = 256 \text{ ft.} = \text{distance from centre to Sun-Stone.}$$

$$\frac{64}{4} = 16 \text{ ft.} = \text{length of altar (exposed face).}$$

From the north-western bank of the Cursus to the Durrington Stone = 12,160 ft. (*vide* Ordnance) =  $120 \times 101$  ft. 4 in.

The half-way point is opposite the Cursus Avenue.

From centre of Cursus to stone = 7,660 ft. =  $120 \times 63$  ft. 10 in.

Length of Cursus = 9,000 ft.

The half-way point is pointed to by a line from the centre of the altar passing through the tip of the Sun-Stone.

These measurements approximate closely to true geographical measures.

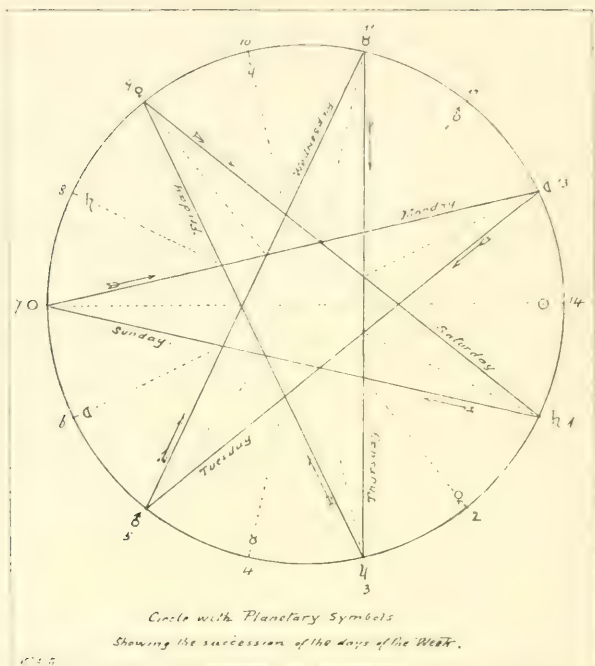
$$1'' \text{ lat. Greenwich} = 101.38 \text{ ft.}$$

$$2' \quad \quad \quad = 12166 \text{ ft.}$$

$$1'' \text{ long.} \quad \quad = 63.97 \text{ ft.}$$

$$2' \quad \quad \quad = 7677.38 \text{ ft.}$$





## THE BLUE-STONES.

I. The planetary diagram consists of a circle having its circumference divided into seven equal parts. The divisional points are joined with seven straight lines. The symbols correspond in their order with the periods of motion of the sun, moon, and planets round the earth, according to the ideas of the ancients.

The Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn. The cross-lines show the succession of the days of the week. The dotted lines represent the dawn joining day with day.

II Diagram is a ground-plan of the Blue-Stones in their present ruinous condition.

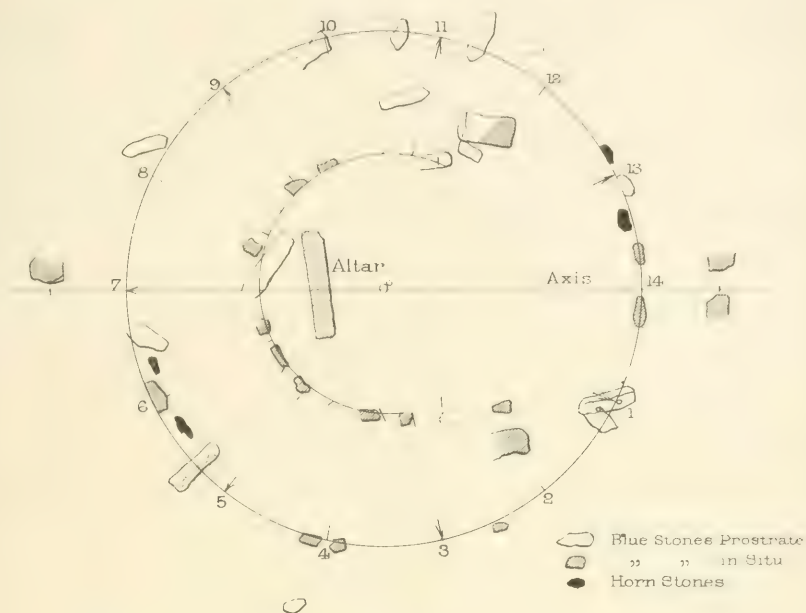
III Diagram shows the Blue-Stones restored with the help of the planetary diagram.

Fourteen stations, at equal distances apart, are marked on the circumference of the circle.

Station 1 shows the Blue-Stone trilithon restored. It is presumed to be dedicated to Saturn. With the rising sun, a new day, a day dedicated to the sun, commences, and time gives birth to a new cycle, the week, which proceeds from the mystical gateway. Following the planetary diagram we now cross over to

Station 7 on the axis. This is dedicated to the Sun. Day, night, and dawn are the first day of twenty-four hours. The moment which joins day with day is the moment of sunrise. It is

# THE BLUE STONES.



## BLUE STONES RESTORED



here represented by the axis, which joins the day consecrated to the sun with that consecrated to the moon. The line passes between two blue-stones of the choir-screen (Station 14), and points to the Sun-Stone. We again cross over to Station 13, dedicated to the moon. We turn as before, sunways, and find the line of dawn joining day with day points to

Station 6. The line passes midway between two horn-stones, and strikes a blue-stone. Thus we find two stations, presumably consecrated to the moon, are marked with blue-stones, each stone being flanked with two horn-stones, these six stones being *in situ*. In this manner the week can be followed, and all the stations be visited.

The accuracy with which the line of dawn of the day dedicated to Mercury passes between two stones placed close together at Station 4 is noteworthy.

The only stone which offers difficulty is one marked 2'. According to the planetary diagram we should expect to see Stations 2 and 12 each marked with two stones, like Station 4. These have probably been omitted, partly in order to keep the entrance to the interior cell free; and we find instead, 2' of the circle, and 2'' of the horseshoe, neither of them agreeing with the planetary diagram.

When considering the symbolism of the Sarsens, we found horseshoe and circle to have equivalent meanings; so, too, with the blue-stone horseshoe and circle.

We find days and lines of dawn pegged out by stones on the inner horseshoe, and by the introduction of stones 2'' and 12'', seven days are indicated instead of only five. It was impossible to peg two of the lines of dawn on the inner Blue-Stones, and inconvenient to mark two in the usual way on the circle. By this arrangement, therefore, the meaning of the inner and outer Blue-Stones is balanced, and the inner Blue-Stones finish symmetrically with the Sarsen horseshoe.

According to this restoration of the Blue-Stones, the total of stones is computed at 120, a not improbable number.

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NOTES ON OCCASION OF A VISIT  
TO  
ISCA SILURUM (CAERLEON),  
AUGUST 25TH, 1892.

BY GEORGE LAMBERT, ESQ., V.D., F.S.A., F.I.L.

(Read 19th April 1893.)

*The Silures.*—Wales was anciently inhabited by three distinct people, the Silures, Dimetæ, and Ordovices.<sup>1</sup> The Silures, according to Ptolemy, inhabited that part which the Welsh call Deheubarth. They were a people of that part, bordering on England, between South Wales and the Severn, and are supposed to have come from Iberia, in Spain. The Iberi, the earliest inhabitants of Iberia (first civilised by the Phœnicians), are mentioned by Greek and Roman historians. They were driven from Spain by the Celtæ.

The Silures remained unmolested by the Romans until Britain was subdued. The country was very large, and the inhabitants were hardy, stout, and warlike, averse to servitude, of great boldness and resolution.

War continued throughout the government of Vespasian, A.D. 69-78, who, having conquered them, the Romans occupied their country for nearly three hundred and thirty years.

*Caerleon.*—In Monmouthshire, formerly called Wentset or Wentsland, the Romans had three stations. The earliest was called, in the time of Antoninus (138-160), “Venta Silurum”, as if it were their chief city. It was an important garrison of the Second Augustan Legion, situated on the Via Julia, which ran from Isca Silurum (Caerleon) to Strigula (Chepstow).

Venta Silurum was so destroyed by the Saxons that

<sup>1</sup> The Romans divided Britannia into two parts,—the first was the country south of the Thames and the British Channel; Britannia Secunda, the country separated from the rest of Britain by the Sabrina or Severn, and the Deva or Dee; that is to say, Wales, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, parts of Shropshire, and the counties of Gloucester and Worcester.

only the ruins of the walls exist ; but many Roman remains have been laid bare, notably fragments of two tessellated pavements, portions of columns, statues, coins of Severus (193-210), Gordian III (238-43), Gallienus (260-67), Tetricus, Constantine (642), Constans (642-67), Carausius, Arcadius (395-408), Valentinian (425-55), and Helena (325-27), bodkins, cups and bowls of Samian ware, spindle-whorls, and other indications of civilisation, have been unearthed here. It had formerly an *Academia Philosophiæ*, or School of Literature.

The second station or town was called by Antoninus *Burrium*. It was seated on the river *Byrdhin*, at its junction with the *Usk*. The British called it *Burenbegi*,<sup>1</sup> also *Caer Wysk*. Giraldus calls it *Oskæ* ; and at the present time *Usk* is a dull, sleepy town, a well-known pitch for fishers of salmon, which abound in this district. There are many camps and mounds in the immediate vicinity.

The third station was *Isca Silurum*, the town of *Caerleon* (of which more shall be spoken at length), for the first two are almost lost in the far distance, while this latter will be known and remembered by thousands yet unborn, for it is the first station on the railway from Newport (the *Novus Burgus*) to *Abergavenny* (the *Goban-nium* of the Romans).

In A.D. 43 *Claudius Cæsar* directed *Aulus Plautius* to leave Germany, where he was stationed with his army, and invade Britain ("Ad Sabrinum, Unde Trajecta intras in Britanniam secundum"), which he did, accompanied by four legions, A.D. 41-54, and to make its way, under the command of *Vespasian*, to Britain, where *Julius Frontinus* was Governor (A.D. 73), who was succeeded by *Julius Agricola* (A.D. 78) ; and *Isca Silurum* of *Antoninus* (*Caerleon*) became the capital of South Wales, and headquarters of the Second Augustan Legion, and retains many vestiges of Roman antiquity. The extent of its walls may be traced, and the ground within them is strewn with Roman bricks, and many Latin inscriptions, which have been dug up, and can be seen in the Museum of *Caerleon*.

*Caer* is the British name for city, and *leon*, a legion ;

<sup>1</sup> *Brynbiga* in Welsh.

and here the Roman legions of the south were accustomed to winter, and hence the name, "City of Legions". This city is of undoubted antiquity, built of masonry with courses of Roman bricks. It stands on the east bank of the river Usk, and described by Pseudo-Gildas as "Nobilis Urbs et amœna situ quam labilis Osca irriget". This city was seated on the north bank of the navigable river Wysk (Usk), beautified with meadows and woods. The Usk, or Oska, flowed through the city, because at a village on the south bank, called Bulmore, a number of sepulchral stones have been found, and it is supposed to have been the site of the *Castrum Æstivum* of the legion; and the Rev. Mr. Harris of Llandaff, in his paper read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1763, styles the modern town of Caerleon "*Isca Augusta*", which lies more to the east than *Isca Silurum*. Certainly it occupies part of the ancient city; in fact, its eastern suburbs. Roman bricks were here and there visible in the buildings.

The name of the place denotes it to have been the station of a legion, for the bricks stamped *LEG. II. AVG.*, found here, put it beyond doubt, and the inscription of Severus Antoninus and Geta denote the fact; therefore there can be no surprise in finding the marks of the luxury of their times, such as baths, amphitheatre, etc., which are proofs of the importance of *Isca Silurum*, Caerleon, and the long and quiet settlement of the Romans here.

The remains of its walls barely exist, and the amphitheatre is almost lost. At Caerleon it was placed without the walls, according to the usual custom of the Romans. How great a city Caerleon was may be learned from Giraldus Cambrensis, who writes in his *Itinerary of Wales* :—

"This ancient city enjoyed honourable privileges. It was elegantly built by the Romans with brick walls. There are yet remaining many traces of its ancient splendour,—stately palaces built by the Roman nobility, adorned with sumptuous edifices, an exceedingly high tower, remarkable hot baths, ruins of ancient temples, theatrical places, encompassed with stately walls which are yet partly standing, and subterranean edifices are frequently met with, not only within the walls, but also

in the suburbs ; aqueducts, vaults, hypocausts, or stoves, contrived with admirable artifice, for conveying heat through narrow vents."

There is a block-plan of the site of Isca Silurum in plan 2 of J. E. Lee's *Caerleon* (London, 1850), within the walls of which an area is enclosed by the side-walls, and such walls themselves are the correct distance apart, to form the parallelogram plan of Hyginus.

"The camp was an oblong, 2,320 ft. long by 1,620 ft. wide. If part of the Castle mound be taken in, to allow of the length from the counterscarp of the ditch farthest from the mediæval Castle, the remains of hypocausts are found."<sup>1</sup> Several altars have been found here with inscriptions.

Digging in a meadow adjoining the present village, some labourers found, on a chequered pavement, a statue of a person in a short, trussed habit, with a quiver and arrows ; also the fragment of an altar with an inscription of large letters, about 3 in. long, erected by Haterianus, Proprætor of the province of Cilicia, and also of the Augustan Legion.

Another fragment of an altar, broken in half, with this lettering,—

IM[P]  
M AV[RELIO]  
ANTO[NINO]  
AVC  
SEVER . I[VCIL]  
FILIO  
LEC . IIV[VG.P]

These inscriptions were in the wall of the garden at Moin's Court, which was formerly the Palace of the Bishop of Llandaff ; but now this place, which was once of so great an extent on each side of the river, has become to be only a few houses.

At St. Cilian's, or Julian's, the road to the river on the west side of the town abounds with Roman bricks. The modern name of the parish is Llangattock-juxta-Caerleon.<sup>2</sup>

About a mile distant from the present church is the middle of the city Isca Silurum. Horsley (p. 320) visited

<sup>1</sup> G. Esdaile, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xlv, 1887, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Rogers, *Monmouthshire*.



this place in search of Roman antiquities, and gives copies of some inscriptions which he met with. He saw a small bronze image of Jupiter, found here while building a house. The left hand was broken off; but the thunderbolt in the right hand was perfect. Several inscriptions with LEG. II. AVG. have been discovered, somewhat mutilated, recording the occupation of the city by the Second Augustan Legion. Another stone records the building of their quarters; the restoration of their temple; a votive tablet to Fortune, and happy years to the bride and bridegroom; inscriptions by widows to deceased husbands, and children to parents. Of household utensils there are numbers,—needles, brooches, fibulæ. All these are in the local Museum, in the centre of which is a small pavement with the usual guilloche border and ornamental centre.

A writer in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. vi) maintains that “Caerleon lies more to the east than Isca, though it might possibly have occupied a part of the ancient city”. Doubtless it was a suburb on the south side of the river Isca, mentioned in the *Iter Britanniarum*. Stukeley is clearly convinced of its being the quarters of LEG. II. AVG., from the several inscriptions found in the neighbourhood.

There is also this inscription, which clearly points out that the little figure discovered by the labourers in 1602 is the goddess Diana, and that Titus Flavius Posthumius Varus, of the fifth cohort of the Second Legion, had repaired her temple.

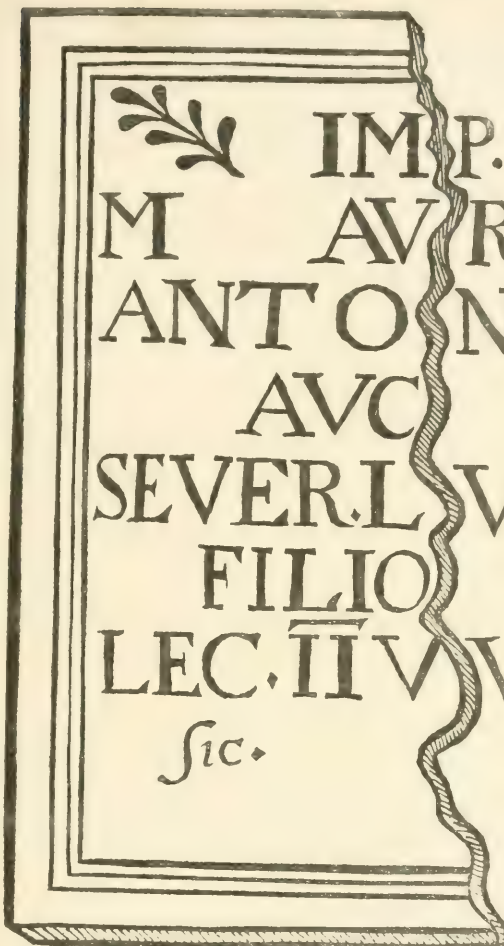
T. FL. POSTUMIUS VARVS  
V. C. LEG. TEMPL. DIANÆ  
RESTITVIT.

Titus Flavius Postumius Varus, quintæ Cohortis Legionis Templum Dianæ restituit.

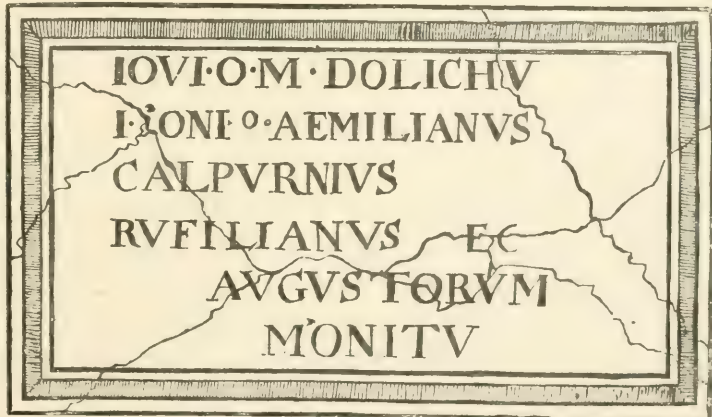
Also a votive altar, from which the name of the Emperor Geta has been effaced, after he had been deposed and declared an enemy by his brother Antoninus Bassianus. Some of the letters are yet remaining.<sup>1</sup>

PRO SALVTE  
AVGG. N. N.

<sup>1</sup> Geta murdered A.D. 212.



IMP.  
M AVRELIO  
ANTONINO  
AVC  
SEVERLVCII.  
FILIO  
LEC. II VVG.P.  
*Sic.*



IOVI·O·M·DOLICHV  
IONE·O·AEMILIANVS  
CALPVRNIVS  
RVFILIANVS EC  
AVGVSTORVM  
MONITV



SEVERI ET ANTONI  
NI ET GETÆ CES.  
P. SALTIVS P. P. MAE-  
CIA THAMVS HADRI  
PREF. LEG. II. AVG.  
C. VAMPEIANO ET  
LVCILIAN

“Pro Salute Augustorum Nostrorum, Severi et Antonini et Getæ Caesarum: Publius Sallienus Publii Filius, Maccia Thalamus Prefectus Legionis Secundæ Augustæ C. Vampeiano et Luciliano Consulibus.”

There was, at Caer Leon, in the wall of the school-house until the rebuilding, a stone, upon which this word was cut in—

VECILIANA

but it is now lost.

There is, or was, in the garden wall of Moin's Court, a stone, with the following upon it:

VIII.

7. VALER  
MAXSIMI.

In the year 1654 some workmen unearthed a tablet at St. Julians, about 14 feet long by 3 feet broad; it is of freestone; the inscription as below was copied by John Aubrey, the eminent antiquary:

IOVI. O.M. DOLICHV  
I. ANT<sup>o</sup> AEMILIANVS  
CALPVRNIVS  
RVFILIANVS<sup>1</sup> E C  
AVGVSTORVM  
MONITV

Why is Jupiter styled Dolichenus? It appears that this altar was erected to implore that god's guardianship of some iron mines in this part of the country. Iron ore was found at Doliche in Macedonia, whence Jupiter was called Dolichenus.<sup>2</sup>

About three miles from Caerleon, in Tre-Dynog Church, is a slab to the memory of a Roman soldier of the 2nd Legion. The slab is of blue slate; the four oblique lines are grooves or “canaliculi”, and the

<sup>1</sup> Ruflianus or Rufinis, A.D. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis and Short's *Dictionary*.



small squares without the lines are holes, pierced through the slate so as to fasten it with iron pins to the ground wall of the church; it was discovered by the gravedigger in 1675.

DM. IVL. IVLIANVS. . . .  
 MIL. LEG. II. AVG. STIP.  
 XVIII. ANNOR. XL. . . .  
 HIC. SITVS. EST. . . .  
 CVRA AGENTE. . . .  
 AMANDA. . . .  
 CONIVGE. . . .

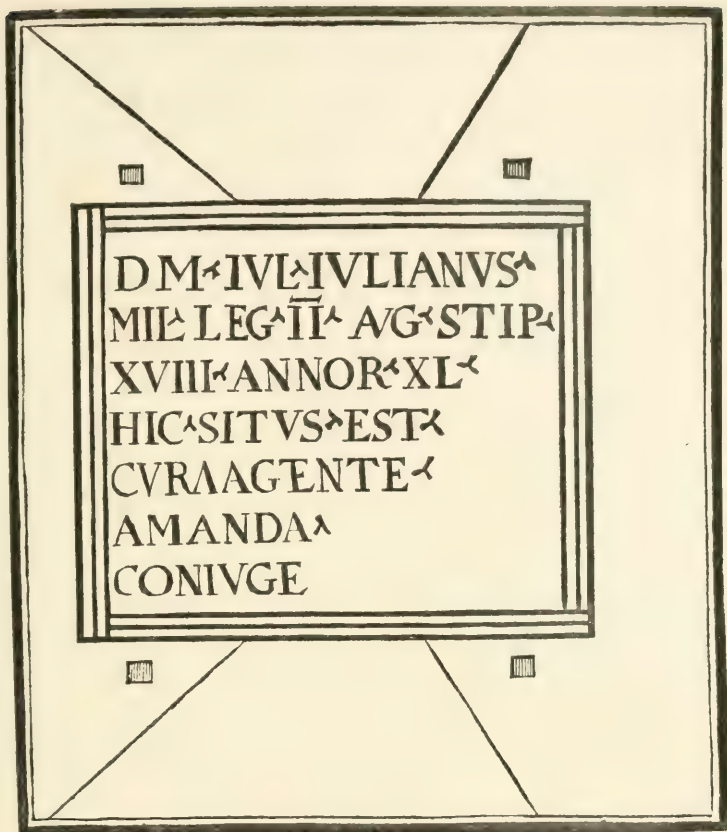
This tablet to a heathen must be about fourteen or fifteen hundreds of years old, and it seems strange that it should have been placed in this position, fastened to the foundation of this church, unless placed there by some pious Christian in after ages; or that the fabric of the church was built on some Roman burial-place.

Bricks have been found with this inscription: LEG. II AVG.

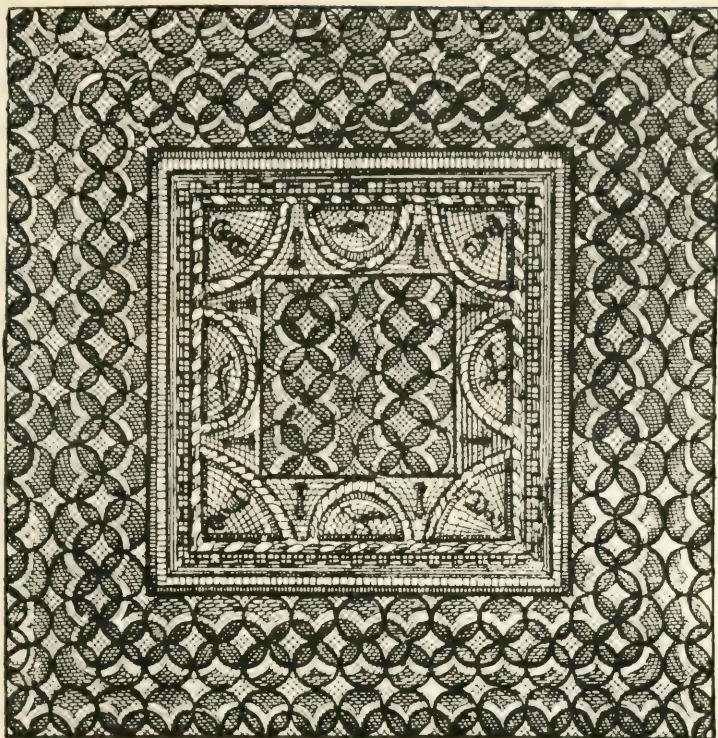
The letters on these bricks are not inscribed, but impressed.

In 1692 a tessellated chequered pavement was discovered at Caerleon, in the grounds of the then High Sheriff of the county, Henry Tomkins, Esq. It was found by some labourers who were ploughing in a field adjoining his house; it was just below the surface, not an inch below the ploughshare, which had only just touched this valuable example of antiquity; it was removed from the field in the same order in which it was found in his garden. The diameter is about fourteen feet, all the arches and the part of the border which they touch are composed of white, red, and blue stones. There are figures of birds and cups. The bills, eyes, and feet of these birds are red, with a red ring about the neck; in the wings one or two of the feathers are red, the others blue, inside the cups is red, and the remaining parts of the pavement are of umber (or dark coloured stones) and white.

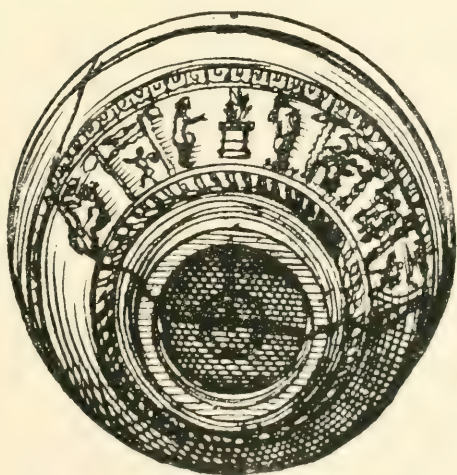
In 1655 some workmen digging in a quarry between Caerleon Bridge and Christchurch, near a place called Porth Sini Krân, discovered a large stone coffin; when







Tessellated, Chequered Pavement.

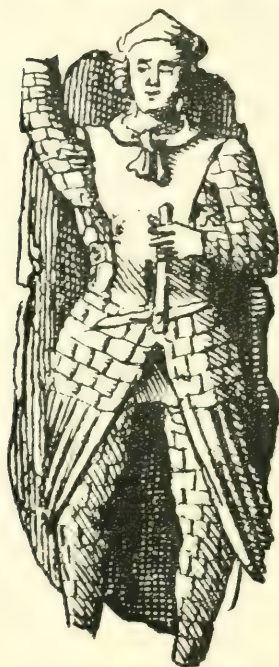


Samian Bowl.

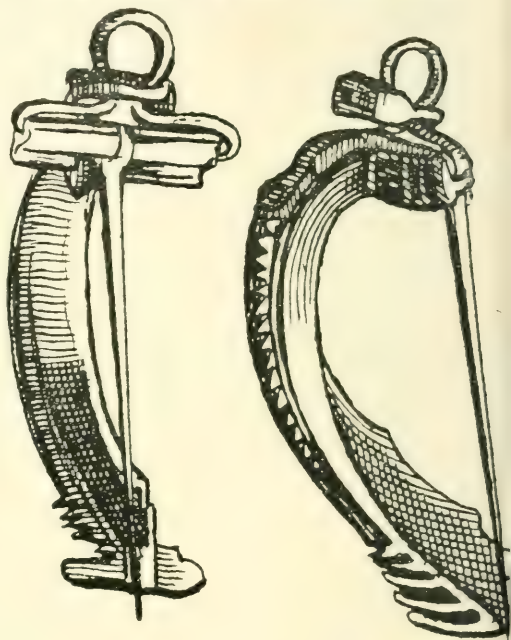
ISCA SILURUM.



opened, a leaden sheet was found wrapped over an iron frame-work, and within the same a skeleton. Near this coffin was found a gilded alabaster statue of a person in a coat of mail, holding in his right hand a short sword, and in the left a pair of scales; in the right scale was a female bust, in the left scale (which evidently was the heaviest) a globe. This statue is now in the Ash-



Gilded Alabaster Statue.



Fibulae.

molean Museum at Oxford, but it is incomplete, the feet, arms, and scales are broken, the gilding is visible in the interstices of the armour. Numerous red articles of pottery, mostly patellæ,<sup>1</sup> etc., of native manufacture, and some Samian ware, which is ornamented with figures, hunting subjects, and festoons, were found; there is also a brass fibula<sup>2</sup> vestiaria, chequered on the front side with

<sup>1</sup> Small dishes, plates to serve up food upon, also used in sacrifices, hence the Lares or tutelar deities of a house were called Patellarii, or Platter gods; their images stood on the hearth in a little shrine (*ædes*) or small chapel (*lararium*), and food was set before them in a platter. (*Plant. Cist.*, II, i, 46.)

<sup>2</sup> A clasp, buckle, pin, latchet, or brace, which served to fasten two parts of a garment together. Those in gold were frequently set with

traces of red and blue colour, and a ring on the top of the joint of the "Acus" or pin. In digging the foundation of a cellar opposite the "White Hart" ale-house, a triangular hooped gold ring with an intaglio representing Hercules wrestling with the Nemæan lion was met with. It was, 1779, in the possession of Mr. Thomas Norman, maltster. The hoop of the ring was of very clumsy make, and doubtless the ring must have been injured by the spade in digging, and hence its triangular shape.

How Caerleon fell is not known, but this is certain, that Amphibalus, the instructor of Albanus, was born in this city; the latter was murdered at Verulam, and the tutor, Amphibalus, having made good his escape from Verulam, was overtaken, bound with cords, walked barefooted to Verulam, stripped of his garments, tied to a stake, and put to death in a manner too barbarous to relate. The first church at Winchelsea was dedicated to St. Amphibalus.

About two miles below Caerleon, on the banks of the Usk, is the town of Newport, Uxaconi Antonini, which refers to Old Caerleon and Novus Burgus; the modern Newport has flourished since the decline of Caerleon; all that remains is the ruins of the Castle, which is at the north-east corner of the town.

The Romans preferred the plain country for the convenience of rivers, for their confidence in the art of war made such situations eligible to them.

"Loca magis subjecerunt sibi quam se locis."

The road through Caerleon was formerly a considerable thoroughfare, from the upper part of Monmouthshire, the Eastern counties into Glamorganshire, and the maritime parts of South Wales, but since the establishment of a turnpike from Chepstow to Newport, it has greatly declined; and now (1893) the railway has destroyed the utility of the turnpike road, and Caerleon is a village.

precious stones, and given as a mark of honour to deserving soldiers; the term fibula, or fíbula, was also given to a surgical instrument for drawing together the lips of a wound. (*Celsus*, v, 26, etc.)

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A COMPARISON  
OF THE  
ROMAN STATIONS OF CAERWENT, CAER-  
LEON, AND CARDIFF.

BY F. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(*Read during the Cardiff Congress.*)

THE district now known to us as Monmouth and Glamorgan-shires was traversed in Roman times by an important road, variously called by writers the *Via Maritima* and the *Via Julia*. It must have formed the base for almost all operations alike of traffic and war, although it is agreeable to think that there was more of the former than the latter, for, as a recent writer has well observed, the Romans and the natives appear to have been good friends.

Ordinarily, in England, the stations which were planted in frequent succession along all the main lines of communication were not surrounded with walls, such defences being reserved for the more important positions at the extremity of one road, or the beginning of another, or where several roadways started off in various directions. The district named is remarkable for having a succession of walled stations along its extent. This feature is unique in Great Britain, and its counterpart can only be found in the stations along the line of the great wall of defence between Bowness and Wallsend, in the north of England; where, however, such stations are part of a system of defence having relation to, and being part of, the Great Wall itself.

The relation of these stations one to another does not appear to have been hitherto observed, and I have therefore brought it before your notice, meeting, as we do, in the town which possesses the site of one of these stations, while we propose to visit a second of these stations, and we have already visited another, Cowbridge, which will not be more particularly referred to, except to say that it is supposed to have been walled in Roman times; and

there is good reason to believe that the foundations still remain, in part, beneath the existing walls of mediæval times. If we add this to our list, we have the remarkable fact of the existence of four Roman walled towns in succession, one after the other,—Caerwent, Caerleon, Cardiff, and Cowbridge. In three of these actual remains of walls still exist. Following the analogy of these, it may be subject-matter for consideration whether or not all the other stations on the line of the *Via Julia* were not equally fortified with walls.

If the first three of these stations be compared one with the other, it will be found that they present several variations of form and plan as well as of size, which are not a little remarkable when it is considered that they are so close one to the other.

Caerwent is in form of a parallelogram, so far as relates to two of its sides; the third and fourth, on the east and north, are not in straight line, but are bent to include a larger area than straight lines would give; the outline being thus arranged, doubtless, to take in some local formation of ground not now apparent. The *Via Julia* passes direct through the walled area from east to west, dividing it into two very nearly equal parts. The dimensions are about 1,320 ft. from west to east, by 1,160 from south to north, the long side being parallel to the central roadway, whose course being west-north-west, the station is inclined equally, and it does not by so much front the cardinal points. All the angles are well rounded.

The Roman walls are all but perfect on the south side, on the east, and a great part of the west. They stood about 20 ft. high, and are constructed of fairly well squared and axed facing stones having a thick mass of solid walling behind, there being no pounded brick in the hard, flint-like mortar. On the town side the wall is backed up by a bank of earth which forms a path within the parapet. This construction appears to be as it was left by the Romans, and not an after addition; and, indeed, the desertion of the site through the middle ages, with no occupation for military purposes, appears to be well borne out by history, thus favouring the belief that we see the remaining work as it was left



by the builders. This same arrangement of a bank behind the wall has existed from Roman times at Chester. The recent works of exploration there show this in an unmistakable manner, since the inner face of the Roman wall, formed of large squared blocks of masonry, is found to consist of projecting masses not cut to an uniform face. This irregularity was of no consequence, since all was hidden by the banked-up earth. The same arrangement of bank and wall occurs at Silchester, and, doubtless, in many other places, although it was far from being an universal custom.

The south wall has been strengthened by a series of projecting towers. A small amount of investigation reveals the fact that these have been added, at a later date, to a previously existing wall. They are not bonded at all into the older walling, and the face-work of the latter may be found behind the later masonry. One of these towers not being attached to the wall, has fallen, and it lies almost entire. This singular feature is not at all an isolated case. It is found equally at Richborough, at Lymne, at London, and at Burgh Castle, Suffolk. In the latter place the towers are only bonded into the wall on top, and by natural settlement of earth the later walling has separated from the earlier. In one instance one of the massive round towers has fallen down, and rolled a long distance from its original position; in another it has separated sufficiently to show that it was built against an earlier rounded angle, proving that the previous form of the station had been a parallelogram with rounded angles.

The bastions of London Wall show by their poor workmanship that they are of late Roman work, as is also proved by their being formed of earlier sculptures and carved work used as old material, some examples of which form the most choice objects of interest in the Guildhall Museum. Whether or not the towers of Caerwent agree in this respect must be left for some fortunate event which may make examination possible.

I am not proposing to write a description of this most interesting and remarkable station, over which I would willingly linger, for the buried walls of the internal buildings come to the surface in many places, and some of the best of the mosaic pavements discovered here were met

with at but a small distance below the present surface. Future researches are likely to be rewarded by important results.

The Roman walls of Caerleon enclose a larger area than at Caerwent, the space being a well-defined parallelogram of about 1,620 ft. from end to end, by 1,380 ft. from side to side. The area was apparently equally divided into two parts, originally, by the *Via Julia*, which seems to have passed in at the east gate, and out at the west, thus giving the axis of the station, which, as before, is inclined to the north. The angles of the walls were boldly rounded, as is attested by one which actually remains, and by a grass-grown mound which, doubtless, covers what is left of another. The internal area is curiously divided by irregular streets, which in a straightened form would very probably give the plan of the original town. The course of the walls can be traced from portions of the south and east sides, while there are some fairly well-defined fragments of the north wall to indicate the well-defined form already named.

The sites of four gates, one in the centre of each face, have been made out theoretically, with fair possibility of accuracy,<sup>1</sup> apart from its being what might be expected to have existed, following the resemblance to other stations.

There are no towers, at least not to the portions remaining, and none have as yet been found in the few excavations that have been made.

The walls are built with somewhat smaller facing stones than at Caerwent, and there is no pounded brick, except in a noteworthy instance. It occurs in the south-east angle. This has apparently suffered injury at some period, for in its present condition traces of rebuilding are very apparent by the jointing of the newer masonry to the older. The whole of the rebuilt mass is formed of mortar with pounded brick, in very visible contrast to the other work. The walls are not so perfect in height as at Caerwent; but it is apparent that they have been banked up with earth, on the inner side, in a similar manner.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At Caerwent a south gate may have existed; but, if so, it did not occupy a central position.

<sup>2</sup> Caerleon may be compared with Aldborough, Yorkshire (the ancient

Until very recently the claims of Cardiff to be considered a Roman station rested only upon the prefix to the name, and to the existence of an earthwork crowned with the much later walls of the existing Castle, very Roman-like in plan; the banks being respectively about 640 ft. by 575 ft., the area being thus much smaller than in the two sites already referred to.

It is owing to Lord Bute's researches that we are now enabled to inspect the best preserved piece of Roman walling in South Wales. Beneath the sloping bank supporting the low wall of the Castle area, all along the east side, a long length of masonry has been disclosed. It is found in a condition perfect, so far as it remains, but greatly reduced in height. It was buried entirely beneath the earthen bank that had been raised over it. We have thus a similar condition of things to what has recently been met with at Chester; where, on a much larger scale, however, long lengths of walling have been disinterred from the earthen bank which has covered them, the mediæval wall having been, as here, erected on the bank at a higher level above them. The masonry is faced with fairly well-axed blue lias-stone. Towers have already been met with, and others, doubtless, exist in other parts where excavations have not been made. They are part and parcel of the original construction, and have not been added subsequently. There is not sufficient to define the height; but the thickness, about 10 ft., has been ascertained. The wall was most probably backed up with an earthen terrace, as in the other examples, which would form the nucleus, and give the idea of the later covering banks.

The site does not appear to have been crossed by the *Via Julia*, which, with more probability, ran parallel to and along the south front. The position, inclined to the west, very probably is derived from the course of the road. The busy passengers along the Castle Street and Newport Road of this flourishing town may little think that they are passing along the modern representatives of the celebrated trunk-road of Roman and later times,

*Isurium*), which measures 1,675 ft. by 1,065 ft.; but while the latter appears to have been a town subordinate to York at the period of the erection of its walls, Caerleon was the home of the Second Legion, and a metropolitan city, the seat of a Christian Bishop.



over which have passed all the forces which have resulted in the close union and incorporation of the Principality and England with one another, so far as South Wales is concerned.

The outline alone of the mediæval walls of Cowbridge, with their one well-defined round tower at the south-west angle, and the *Via Julia* bisecting the town, is amply sufficient to show that here, and not either at Ewenny or at Boveton, was the Roman station of *Bovium*. Our discovery of a Roman foundation, on which the existing mediæval walls of Chichester stand, and our knowledge that a similar state of things exists at Rochester, justify the belief that the actual foundations may yet remain here also.

These notes evidence a certain similarity of construction and plan in each of the three stations brought into comparison, which may be accepted as evidence that their original foundation was the work of the same hand. Their resemblance in all leading features agrees with many other stations in England, and points to their being built on a well-defined and recognised system, modified by local circumstances and by later additions in one instance. They seem to show also that an enclosure with rounded angles, and without towers, is the earlier form of the two. Their existence at Cardiff as part of the original work may point to a late Roman date for the erection; perhaps to supersede an earthen enclosure only, which is far from improbable. The addition of towers to Caerwent, when none were built to the walls of the important town of Caerleon, is a curious feature well worthy of observation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to compare the relatively small size of the enclosing areas both of Caerwent and Caerleon, important as these stations were, with the increase of such cities as Lincoln, where a large quadrangular, walled area was added on the south of the original and smaller space which formerly constituted the station; or to Chester, where the whole area appears to have been enlarged on most, if not on all, sides by the erection of the walls in which such a mass of earlier Roman sculptures have been found, derived very probably from sepulchres whose sites were then thrown into that of the extended city.

May not the continued small size of these two Silurian walled enclosures be attributed to the continuance of peaceful times, when the increase took the form of open suburbs (we know that they did so at Caerleon), outside the ancient walls, without the necessity for enclosing walls of defence?



I ought not to conclude without reference to the huge conical mound of earth which exists at Caerleon, and to the very similar one within the area of the enclosing walls of Cardiff Castle. While the former is destitute of all building, the latter is crowned by the ruined keep of the Castle. Similar mounds are to be met with throughout England, and their consideration led to many conjectures, and very great differences of opinion, until Mr. Clark, pointing out their existence on well-defined Saxon sites, asserted that they were the work of that people. It would have been impossible for any builder of a heavy masonry keep ever to have erected his work on such a mass of made ground, had mound and keep been of one date.

At Caerwent, the belief in any very remote antiquity of these mounds is dispelled, from the well-ascertained fact that a Roman villa must have existed on part of the site before it was thrown up, since the remains of the latter are partially buried beneath it. At Cardiff the ruined keep stands firm on the summit of the mound, which it never could have done had mound and masonry been the work of the same period. The mound is in one case, therefore, later than the period of the Romans, and in the other earlier than that of the Normans. Mr. Clark's theory is likely to stand as firmly as the mounds themselves.

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THE ENGLISH CLAIMS  
TO THE OVERLORDSHIP OF SCOTLAND,  
IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEATH OF THOMAS À BECKET.

BY MISS RUSSELL.

THE English claims to the Overlordship of Scotland cost so much blood, and were so profusely discussed and written about, without, as far as one can see, any pretence of good faith on either side, that the historical facts are thrown into the shade by the military and political ones. In fact, I am inclined to think that the real history of the claim has never been published yet.

I think it is now very generally understood, both in England and Scotland, that it must have partly originated in the homage done for more than a century by the eldest son of the Scotch king, to the King of England, for the kingdom of Cumbria, comprehending the mountainous country from Dumbartonshire to the Cumbrian Derwent, which must have been conquered by some agreement, tacit or expressed, between the two kings. The cession of Cumbria, as it is called, took place in 945, only eight years after the battle of Brunanburg, which was a very near thing indeed for the West-Saxon Kings of England; it seems to have been only the management of one of Athelstan's generals, who delayed the battle, which prevented the English army being defeated in detail. And as Mr. Skene points out, it was probably to prevent the landings of the Irish Danes that Edmund the Elder, the brother and successor of Athelstan, by over-running Cumbria, and making it over to Malcolm I of Scotland, for the acknowledgment of homage by his heir, made it the interest of the Scotch king to be at peace with England, and to keep Cumbria powerless as a separate nation. The later Kings of Cumbria being a branch of the Scotch royal family, Malcolm may have appeared somewhat in the light of a deliverer; at all events, his cousin retained the title of King of Cumbria, with what powers one cannot quite tell.

In fact, the cession of Cumbria was a most able stroke on the part of the grandson of Alfred. Circumstances had recently made it possible ; there are said to have been five kings in the battle, and of these Athelstan was dead, who had been committed to an aggressive policy by his invasion of Lothian, which must have been long in the hands of the Danes, as it had belonged to Northumbria from, apparently, the time of Edwin. Athelstan indeed invaded the country further north, but does not seem to have made much by it except provoking the combination which ended with the battle of Brunanburg.

Old Constantine, the Scoto-Pictish king—for the two names seem to have been used indifferently up to about his time—who had lost his son in the battle, was dead in his convent at St. Andrew's (from which it is alleged he had emerged on one occasion, *for a week*, for the purpose of leading an invasion of England !).

Of the two Scandinavian leaders, both called Olaf or Aulaf, one, who had come with his ships into the Humber, was Constantine's son-in-law, and the other was son of the Danish King of Dublin ; he probably both advanced and retreated with his men across Cumberland. He would not be likely to interfere in affairs in Britain without some prospect of advantage, and, with Scotland and Cumbria in friendly hands, the English kings would have much less to fear from landings of the Irish Danes.

Looked at from this point of view, the cession of Cumbria becomes an eminently politic transaction on both sides ; but it could have nothing to do really with the Overlordship of Scotland. Perhaps the most illustrative case of feudal homage, showing how little it had, necessarily, to do with the respective rank of the parties, is that of the King of France doing homage to the Abbot of St. Denys for some land which lay near one of the royal residences. No doubt the King of France was not so great a potentate as he afterwards became, and, in any case, it was probably performed by proxy ; but ecclesiastical property is always difficult of transfer.

The case, in fact, is sufficiently clear as far as the Norman Conquest ; the eldest son of the King of Scotland used the title of Prince of Cumbria.

As to the allegations of homage done by the King of

Scotland to the King of England before 945, they seem improbable, and they have been pretty thoroughly sifted in recent times. Mr. Skene says, in *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i, chap. vi, pp. 348-9, that the statement of the *Saxon Chronicle*, that in 924 Edward the Elder, the son of Alfred, was chosen for "father and lord" by the kings and people of the Scots, and by the king and people of Strathclyde, and by Ragnall, King of Northumbria, and by all the Northumbrians, is difficult to account for at all; there was no war north of the Humber to produce such an effect. It may be added that, in spite of the co-operation of his sister Ethelfled, and of the willingness of the Saxons to get rid of their Danish lords, Edward had his hands full otherwise.

That Ragnall, or Reginald, the only person named, had died in 921, would not be in itself a fatal objection; it is difficult enough to get dates right at any time, but Mr. Skene points out that Florence of Worcester had adverted to this, and that he states the transaction under 921.

Mr. Skene says the questions about it have been very ably discussed on the English side by Mr. Freeman in his *Norman Conquest*, vol. i, pp. 60, 133, and 610; and on the Scotch side by Mr. Robertson, in his *Scotland under the Early Kings*, vol. ii, p. 384; and that he thinks Mr. Freeman has failed, on the whole, to meet Mr. Robertson's criticism successfully. And indeed Mr. Freeman himself seems to have seen the force of Mr. Robertson's arguments, for in one of his last works, his small *Life of William the Conqueror*, *English Statesmen* series, he transfers the supposed honour distinctly to him, in terms which imply that he gave up the case of Edward.

It is of importance that Sharon Turner, as far as I remember, ignores the statement of the *Saxon Chronicle* altogether, and gives instead one that Howell, one of the Kings of Wales, and a nameless King of Scotland, submitted and became tributary to Athelstan. Athelstan is a hero of the writers; and when he adds that he subsequently restored the independence of both, the whole transaction becomes rather shadowy.

But as the war with Howell is recorded, and as Athel-



stan certainly marched far into Scotland, this story has much more show of probability than the other.

It is perhaps worth pointing out that, though I am referring to the edition of 1840, Sharon Turner's history was originally published when the geography and topography of Scotland were much less known in England than they are now. It was in 1800, before even *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, much less *The Lady of the Lake*, had enlightened the reading public as to some of the difficulties which lay in the way of a successful invasion of Scotland; while it is to be remembered that the Scotland in question, in the first quarter of the tenth century, only began beyond Stirling at the Forth. At an earlier time, for two centuries after the leaving of the Romans, the eastern districts, as far as the Tweed at least, belonged to the Gaelic Picts; and, after 945, the centre of the north of Scotland, and the country as far as Workington in Cumberland, practically belonged to the King of Scotland.

The statements under discussion seem to me only the exaggeration of not very careful or conscientious chroniclers, throwing back the homage for Cumbria some twenty or five-and-twenty years; invaluable as the *Saxon Chronicle* is, there must be many different hands in it. I cannot say at this moment who Sharon Turner's authority is; he seems to have been quite indefatigable in the way of hunting up sources of information.

Taking, then, the cession of Cumbria in 945 as the historical commencement of the homage, the history of it down to the Norman Conquest is tolerably clear; it was apparently paid regularly when there was no war between the two countries.

On the other hand, the statement that Edgar had his barge on the Dee rowed by eight kings (I think that was the number), of whom Malcolm of Scotland was one, is not only possible but probable, given a king foolish enough to strain his power in the direction of personal insult. With feudal institutions already tolerably developed, he was within his rights; as General Dalziel was right when he said to Queen Mary of Modena, when she objected to sitting down to dinner with a subject (and, it should be added, a very rough

specimen), that he had dined at a table where *her father* might have stood at his back. He had dined with the Emperor of Germany, one of whose household officers, strictly speaking, was the Duke of Modena; though it would doubtless have depended on circumstances whether he could have enforced personal attendance.

It was worth while for the Scotch king to keep the peace under considerable provocation; the country about Edinburgh, which must mean the district from Falkirk to at least the Midlothian Esk, had been given up to Scotland in 957, twelve years after the cession of Cumbria, and it was probably held by the same tenure. Between the Danes and the Scots, the hold of the English king upon this part of the country must have been but slight. And in 1018, after the battle of Carham, on the Tweed, between the King of Scotland and the Earl of Northumberland, the still more valuable district between the Esk and the Tweed was obtained for Scotland. The last King of Cumbria, Eugenius or Ewen by name, was killed the same year, whether in the battle or not. The title reappears subsequently as borne by the grandson of the Scotch king, who became Duncan I, and is the first Scotch king distinctly known to general readers. Canute the Great made an expedition to the north for the purpose of recovering the territory, the modern Berwickshire and East Lothian, which had been abandoned by Eadulf, the Earl of Northumberland, who, by this time, could not have been at all an independent prince, but rather a great Crown vassal.

He appears to have been much blamed for giving up the country which he, in fact, held on condition of defending it. But by this time Scotland had become too compact, with the Tweed, the western Cheviots, and perhaps rather the Solway than the Derwent, as its frontier, to allow of a province being readily separated from it.

There seems no distinct record regarding Lothian and Cumbria, the south of Scotland, during the usurpation of Macbeth MacFinlay (which was chiefly such because, as Maormor of Moray, he had been the commander of Duncan's army. His claim, through his

wife, was nearly as good as Duncan's, and the two families were equal as regarded an atrocious political assassination on each side).

Or, rather, the only fact that appears about these districts at this time is that Malcolm Canmore, son of Duncan, afterwards Malcolm III, got possession of them, by help of his kinsman Siward, Earl of Northumberland, three years before he defeated Macbeth and became King of Scotland.

There does not seem any record of Malcolm Canmore's relations with Edward the Confessor, but probably any communications they had were amicable.

On the Norman Conquest in 1066, Malcolm gave refuge to the Saxon nobles, and eventually married Margaret, sister of Eadgar Atheling, and grand-niece of the Confessor.

He more than once invaded England on behalf of Eadgar; and here we come to another disputed point, which, nevertheless, in the light of previous and subsequent history, seems clear enough.

It was not for some time after the Conquest that William was at leisure to do anything against this combination, which was a constant menace to his possession of England. But, in 1072, he invaded Scotland with an army, accompanied by a fleet, and marched as far as the old town of Abernethy, on the lower part of the Tay. Here Malcolm met him, and, according to the phrase used on most of these occasions, became his man; which, no doubt, implies that he renewed the homage for Cumbria; but that, in this case, would imply a great deal more, namely, that Malcolm, on behalf of himself and of the family of Alfred, *acknowledged William as King of England*.

The confusion about Cumbria has caused the great importance of this to be overlooked. But, as might have been expected, Eadgar Atheling, within the next three years, came to terms with William, who, with his usual sagacious policy, gave him a fief in Normandy, lands to be held of himself, where he, Eadgar, had no family influence.

That Malcolm, as broadly stated by Mr. Freeman in his *Life of William the Conqueror*, agreed to hold his



hereditary dominions from William, seems almost too improbable for discussion ; but still it is as well to remember the position of things : that this was William's first attempt to retaliate on Malcolm, who had been making war on him for years ; and that the strongest part of the country, the Highland mountains, lay beyond Abernethy.

We do not know much about Malcolm, except that he was a heavy-handed warrior, only too ready to fight on every occasion, and a sufficiently able politician, as to taking advantage of circumstances ; and yet he is represented as giving up his whole dominions, without striking a blow, to William, so as to hold them of him in future. Mr. Freeman's statement is a deliberate one, for he says that no King of Scotland had ever stood in this position towards a King of England before. It must apparently have originated with himself, after his *History of the Norman Conquest* was published, for, as said before, there is nothing peculiar in the statement about the homage done by Malcolm ; and I doubt if the statement in question is to be found in any of the chroniclers, if the received view was that the independence of Scotland had been surrendered in or about 921.

Mr. Skene says, that as Malcolm possessed Cumbria and Lothian, as well as the older Scotland, there is nothing positive to be gathered from the statement about homage here ; but after William Rufus succeeded his father, he foolishly deprived Eadgar Atheling of the territory that had been given in Normandy ; and Malcolm went to war with him. William prepared to invade Scotland, but his ships were wrecked, and Malcolm agreed to terms ; so that, as Mr. Skene renders the *Saxon Chronicle*, " King Malcolm came to our king, and became his man, with all such obedience as he had before paid to his father, and that with oath confirmed. And King William promised him in land and in all things that which he had before held under his father. In this reconciliation Eadgar Atheling was also reconciled with the king, and the kings then with great good feeling separated." Mr. Skene goes on : " This passage seems very clearly to imply that the expression 'and Malcolm became his man', does not refer to any homage rendered



by Malcolm for the kingdom of Scotland, either on this or the former occasion, but for land held under the king in England."

After the death of Malcolm there was a remarkable contest for the crown of Scotland. Edward, the eldest son of Margaret, was killed along with his father in one of his usual invasions of Northumberland; and it was probably this which made it possible for Donaldbane (Donald the Fair), Malcolm's brother, of Shakespearean memory, to assert his right under the Celtic law to succeed in preference to his next nephew. His reign did not last more than about six months; as Mr. Skene infers, his Highland supporters probably clashed with the people of Cumbria and Lothian.

In any case he was driven out by Duncan, the eldest son of Malcolm Canmore, who, some time before the Norman Conquest, had married Ingebiorg, widow of Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney. She must certainly have been dead before he married Margaret, for if there had been any serious flaw in the title of the latter's sons it would have been brought forward during the struggle for the crown.

On the other hand, there may be a further reason for Duncan being set aside in the way he was, besides his not representing the Saxon royal family as Margaret's sons did. I cannot see any probable doubt that Malcolm had married Ingebiorg as a royal alliance, and a very important political one; but she was the widow of a somewhat near kinsman, and it is more than possible that no dispensation had been obtained which would come up to the Norman standard of orthodoxy. Duncan had been given as a hostage to William the Conqueror after the meeting at Abernethy. He must have been then quite a lad, if not a child, and he was brought up entirely in the Anglo-Norman court.

When he proposed to try for the Scotch crown he went to the king, William Rufus, and, as Mr. Skene gives the words of the *Saxon Chronicle*, "performed such fealty as the king would have of him, and with his permission went to Scotland with the support he could get of English and French (that is, Normans), and deprived

his kinsman Donald of the kingdom, and was received as king."

Mr. Skene afterwards says that Duncan had probably agreed to hold the whole kingdom as a vassal of the King of England; in fact, he would make the question of the Overlordship really begin here.

And this is the point where I differ from him; it is not said that William Rufus gave Duncan any assistance beyond countenancing his attempt, and the fact that he, William, had in the latter years of Malcolm Canmore tried to take possession of Cumbria, though it had never practically belonged to England at all, makes it specially likely that what Duncan did was to promise to hold Cumbria as a fief under him. (William had succeeded in getting possession of Cumbria south of the Solway, the modern Cumberland; but it is from his proclamation, "to all beyond the Loedr", that we know the interesting and important fact that Cumbria extended to the river Leader and the Eildon Hills on the east, and how large a part of the south of Scotland it therefore was.)

An existing charter of Duncan's, granting Tynningham in Lothian to St. Cuthbert, that is, to Durham, is witnessed by an Eadgar, who is supposed to be his half-brother, the eldest surviving son of Margaret, who is recorded as having been notoriously a peaceable man.

However, after about six months, Duncan is said to have been ensnared and slain, apparently in Kincardineshire; then comes Donaldbane again, this time in association with his younger nephew Edmund.

And now Eadgar Atheling, a man who apparently acted by fits and starts, returned the protection and assistance he had received from his sister and her husband by taking up the cause of his nephew Eadgar.

He appears to have been latterly on friendly terms with the Norman kings, and the *Saxon Chronicle* says, under 1097, that Eadgar Atheling, with the king's support, went with a force into Scotland, and in a hard-fought battle won that land and drove out the king, Donald, and in King William's vassalage set as king his kinsman Eadgar. Mr. Skene says of this, that both Duncan and Eadgar seem to have purchased the assistance of the English by a general admission that they held

the kingdom under the King of England. But I do not think it likely that anything of the kind had ever been proposed or seriously thought of at this time. It seems to me to want probability altogether. William was very far from being the great power that his father was, and his assistance seems to have been of the most negative kind. Perhaps the puzzle as to when the question of the Overlordship really began had as much to do with Mr. Skene's view as anything else.

And now comes a long period of quite a different state of things; Henry I, the youngest son of the Conqueror, married a daughter of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, and her youngest brother, David, seems to have gone to England with her, and lived at the English Court. He eventually became King of Scotland; and did much by his enormous endowments of the Church, which must have had in the main a political object, to break down the differences between the different districts comprising the kingdom. When he went to war with England, and was defeated at the Battle of the Standard, it was on behalf of his niece, Henry's daughter, the Empress Maud; and when, after the death of Stephen, her son succeeded as Henry II, the close connection of the two Courts seems to have continued.

David's son, Prince Henry, died before him, and though he succeeded in getting his minor grandson acknowledged as heir (this was a great step in the direction of modern institutions), he, Malcolm IV, died at the age of twenty-five.

And his brother and successor, known as William the Lion, at one juncture went to war with Henry II, partly on behalf of his rebellious son Richard, then Count of Poitou; though, also, the whole country north of the Tyne seems uniformly to have been claimed by the early Scotch kings as belonging to Lothian; the claim to both being evidently the whole district having been possessed by the Picts, as to which Bede and other writers are very explicit. David had held either the northern parts, or else the whole of Northumberland and Cumberland as fiefs.

And it was while besieging Alnwick that William was taken prisoner; it is said to have been through

his own carelessness, combined with a thick fog, which concealed the English forces. One account has it that he and his knights were holding an extempore tournament.

The important point is this: that King Henry, then, I suppose, at Canterbury, was awakened by the news of his cousin's capture, on the morning after he had done public penance, in England, for his share in the murder of Thomas à Becket. He had previously done it at Sens in France.

William, who is said to have been rather roughly used, for a royal captive, was, some months afterwards, released, on the condition of holding his kingdom from the King of England. Sir Walter Scott, who, in his political history of Scotland, written for *Lardner's Cyclopædia*, goes much more fully into the subject than Mr. Skene does in his *History of Celtic Scotland*, considers, as I do, that the question of the Overlordship began here. He says truly, that the king was then so large a part of the actual machinery of government, that it is difficult to imagine how the country could get on without him. But with all his insight into the mediæval mind, the idea that it was to the might of St. Thomas à Becket that William succumbed, had not occurred to him. But his relics were credited with miraculous powers from the first.

There was, therefore, an interval of seventy-five years between Eadgar's agreement with William Rufus and William's capture, and the facts of the homage were very likely not very distinctly recorded.

One almost requires to know Canterbury to understand fully the importance of the *cultus* of St. Thomas; but the coincidence of the capture of William with the penance done by Henry is brought out, without any particular inference from it, in Dean Stanley's lectures, entitled, I think, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*.

But I do not know that I should have seen fully that it was the probable *cause* of William's submission, if I had not known previously that William's Norman Abbey of Arbroath was dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket.

I was very much surprised when I came upon this fact; this invocation of the great English patron saint



of the period implied an acceptance of the English king's supremacy beyond mere acquiescence.

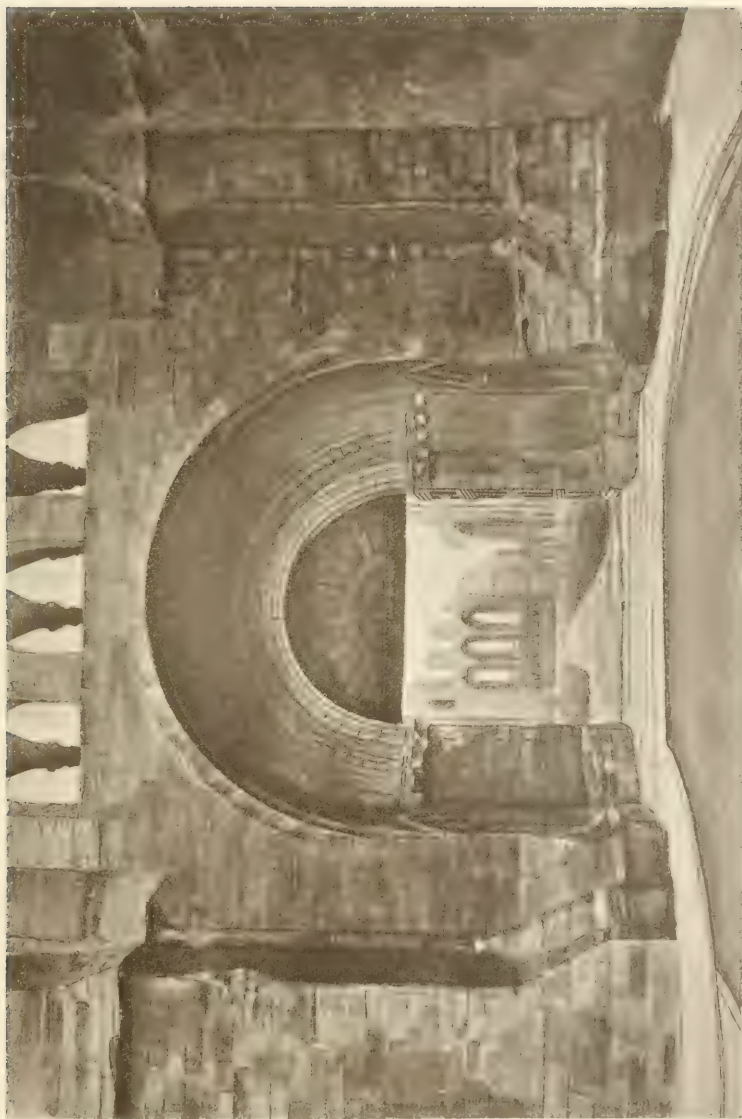
The next stage of the history is quite clear : Richard Cœur de Lion was not, as Sir Walter says, the man to forget that William had suffered on his account ; and when, in 1189, he wanted money for his crusade, he restored the independence of Scotland, for a payment of ten thousand marks ; reserving—and here Cumbria crops up again, more or less—all such homage as William's brother Malcolm had paid to the King of England. By this bargain Richard left a friendly neighbour behind him, instead of an enemy.

Mr. Skene remarks, I forget in which of his works, that Giraldus Cambrensis may be considered an impartial authority, when he says that Richard had sold for money an honour, which no King of England had ever had before (that is, before his father Henry) ; which would dispose of William the Conqueror. I doubt if Giraldus' ecclesiastical grievances admitted of impartiality ; it is he, I think, who says Richard would have sold *London* if he could have found a purchaser for it, to get money for his hobby of the crusade. But I do think Giraldus may have known something about the earlier history, and the homage for Cumbria ; he was, after all, a good deal of a Welshman, and he was in any case a wonderful man for picking up information. Scotland contributed 2,000 marks to Richard's ransom ; this must have been a free gift, as Richard's object being ready money, the previous 10,000 must have been paid down.

After this the history is chiefly military. The way in which Edward I lost his head over Scotland, I can only account for by supposing that he had absolutely reckoned on the kingdoms being united by the marriage of his son with the Maid of Norway, the heiress of Scotland.

That the competitors for the crown after her death, the nobles who stood in different degrees of relationship to the Scotch royal family, should agree that the successful competitor should accept Edward as Overlord, as well as umpire, was by no means very unnatural.

After the first long war of independence, the capture of David Bruce, who was pretty much the same sort of headlong man-at-arms as his predecessor William, brought



WEST DOOR OF THE ABBEY-CHURCH OF ST. THOMAS A BECKET AT ARBROATH IN FORFARSHIRE.  
The window above is 30 ft. across.



on the question of the Overlordship again, or, rather, David Bruce accepted it. He died before a heavy ransom was fully paid; and Edward III's wars in Scotland were connected with this. As Hill Burton says, it was the fact that he and the Black Prince were also engaged in war with France, that made them less formidable to Scotland than they would have been otherwise. David Bruce left no children.

The fictitious history of Scotland, making an exaggeration of the small old kingdom of the Scots of Dalriada take the place of the really powerful kingdom of the Picts, may have begun at any time when the English claims were in question; it was well developed when Fordun wrote.

The last serious appearance of the claim of homage was when Henry IV of England made it of Robert III of Scotland. The Scotch king wisely did not go into the relative positions of Picts and Scots and Cumbrians, but abused the English king roundly, and told him he was only Henry of Lancaster, and should be nothing but Duke of that ilk. Henry VIII is said to have renewed it, but I do not think it enters seriously into the politics of the period.

A good deal was said about it, however, at the time of the union of the legislatures, which did indeed paralyse Scotland for half a century, to a degree that is little understood now, chiefly by cutting off the old communications with the Continent. The story is well known of Sir George Mackenzie telling an English scholar, who was criticising the received history of Scotland, that if he had been a Scotchman, it would have been his (Sir George's) duty, as Lord Advocate, to prosecute him.

#### NOTES.

I do not know of any trace of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the south of Scotland; it is very possible his connection with the English claims was too much recognised for him to be popular. St. Dunstan occurs at Melrose, where his name attaches to a small mineral well, not without virtues. And the names of saints do remain in the south-east of Scotland in a way which those who use them are not generally aware of.



As to the hill-names, the only one which has been generally recognised, I think, is that of the Dunian, near Jedburgh; it is Scotch Gaelic; and there is another Dun-Ian, or Hill of St. John, near Inverness. Even Penchryst, which is pronounced most distinctly as Pen-Christ, is not generally recognised as an ecclesiastical name.

Though the form is Saxon now, the name of the Herman Law, at the head of St. Mary's Loch, or rather of the smaller lake, probably shows another Welsh invocation, that of St. German. The mediæval dedication of the old chapel at Chapelhope is said to have been the Roman St. Lawrence. (The Church of St. Mary, the old parish-church of Yarrow, was at the bottom of the lower lake.) But the upper lake—the name, the *Loch of the Lowes*, seems an attempt to spell *lochs* at some early time—is perhaps the most likely locality for the Allelujatic Victory; there is the water of the lake for adult baptism by immersion, and the ford for the drowning of the flying enemy; the road through the hills into Anandale; the Pictish population to the east, and in Lothian and the north of Northumberland; the Jutes at Jedburgh; and apparently some other Saxons at Hawick, for the gathering-cry of the town always remained “*Terribus et terri Odin*”, which has never been interpreted otherwise than as an invocation of Tyr and Odin. The date of the Allelujatic Victory is 429.

Whatever the locality was, it is to this time, that of extreme distress to the Britons, between the departure of the Romans and the rise of Ambrosius, that the *broch* lately discovered at Torwoodlee is to be attributed.

The remains were found under those of the dry-stone fort, the line of forts on Gala Water being apparently a continuation of the Catrail, which from many indications must have been the frontier of Cumbria. It is of the most archaic Orcadian type, with small chambers in the fifteen-feet-thick wall; but the relics of habitation, of which there is only a thin layer, are almost entirely Roman, like those from the neighbouring station at Newstead.

To return to St. Mary's Loch, a higher hill opposite the Herman Law is called Andrewhinny, evidently a Welsh Andrew Hen, or St. Andrew. The Welsh *Sen* or *Hen*, “old”, represents “saint”. This invocation may mark the adoption of the Roman Easter by the Cumbrian Church about 700, by the influence of Adamnan of Iona.

The Anton Heights are part of, I suppose, the border range; while Brandonlawhill (as it is always called) stands rather by itself. Brancepeth, south of the border, is dedicated to St. Brendan. The name of Ruberslaw, a fine distinct hill, I take to be one of the many forms assumed by *Maclrubat*. Penango, near the border—the farm is Penangushope—first gave me the idea of a Welsh St. Angus; but I have little doubt that St. Angus of Balwhidder was originally Angus or Arawn, the brother of Urien,

whom Arthur seems really to have left in power on the borders of Dumbartonshire. The Angus slab is the tomb of an ecclesiastic, but from the cases of Patricius and Nennius we know that the priest might probably be called by the name of the founder. And with the analogy of Llanelwy, and the mention of Llan Elw in the Welsh poems, the Angusel of the Morte d'Arthur is probably Angus of the Endowment.

Immediately north of the Tweed, above Caddonhead, is a Maiden Law, which probably indicates St. Aidan, in the Gaelic form Mo, or My, Aidan. This name has probably been originally that of St. Aidan of Fearn, but preserved, as in the form of Modan at Dryburgh, by its being that of St. Aidan of Lindisfarne, who came from Fearn. The terms in which Malcolm IV grants the right of sanctuary to the church of Inverleithen, that it should have the same privileges as Tynningham and Wedale, or Stow, seem to show that it was, like them, an outpost of the Archdeaconry of Lothian; and therefore probably at one time of Northumbria. On the south bank of the Tweed, Cumbria would appear always to have extended at least as far as the Ettrick.

William Law is probably the latest of the hill-names in question; there being a William's Well, an unfailing cold spring, near Melrose Abbey, suggests St. William of York. The hill is near Stow, and the pasturage of Wedale was given up to the monks of Melrose by the distant Archbishop of St. Andrew's.

It may be added the two old dedications at Stow correspond to the badges Arthur is said to have worn in battle.

Mr. Skene's historical theory of Arthur's battles is tolerably well known; but he had not noticed that the northern ones are divided into two distinct campaigns by the battle at Chester, the first terminating with the battle of Castel Guinion, and the other with that of Badon, or Buden, Hill. And I infer that the two churches commemorated these two crowning victories.

The shoulder-brooch with the emerald Madonna belongs to the period; the Byzantine engravers used green stones for sacred subjects. And the cross, I infer, was only brought by Arthur from the *Caer Seon*, which is called the city of Gwydyon; whether it was Inchkeith opposite Edinburgh or not, there were churches on all the larger islands in the Firth of Forth. The Holy Rood has become, locally, St. Ruth.

St. Monenna's dedications in the north must have been part of the ecclesiastical side of Arthur's victories; the Church in the north must have been utterly ruined, and she was probably summoned to help the Cumbrian Church, between the battle of Badon Hill in 516 and her death in 519.

I do not believe in the native paganism of the sect broken up by the battle of Arthuret in 573; the *sacred fire* looks to me much more like some Eastern form of heresy (see the history of St. Gregory of Nazianzus). Indeed, the beloved and lamented Gwen-

dolew and his two brothers appear among the Welsh saints ; and they are known to have been educated at the great College of Llanilyd. Merlin Sylvester, however, appears to have been baptised as well as converted by Kentigern. The persistent invocation of the latter for insanity is probably connected with the story of Merlin ; the cross, with interlaced work in high relief, of which fragments have been found at the church of Borthwick, that is, Lochorward, between Stow and Edinburgh, may possibly be that mentioned by Joceline in the twelfth century as believed to be the miraculous work of the saint himself ; and it is probably that meant by Sir David Lyndsay, just before the Reformation. He does not mention the locality of the St. Mungo's Cross to which lunatics were still tied ; but he had property in the neighbourhood of Borthwick.

I find it was from a MS. in the British Museum that Sharon Turner got the name of Tadwine's Cliffe for the place where Edred received the homage of the Northumbrians in 946 ; he having succeeded his brother, Edmund the Elder, just after the cession of Cumbria.

The historian did not recognise this as an error for Eadwine's Cliffe, or the Eildon Hills ; but it exactly corresponds with what we know otherwise of the boundaries of the two states ; the name of the Red Abbey Stead for a farm exactly between the Eildon Hills and the Tweed, probably being that of a forgotten foundation of Malcolm I on his new frontier. Edred seems to have seen the capabilities of the district ; for some years afterwards he imprisoned a Bishop or Archbishop of York, against whom serious charges had been brought, at Jedburgh, where he could have no local influence. Lessudden, or Lessedwyn, was probably still a Saxon royal residence.

As to Malcolm I and his connections, Mr. Skene's Scandinavian researches have shown that the position of Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney, is really the key to the Macbeth episode.

Thorfinn's mother and Duncan's were two of the daughters of Malcolm, and Thorfinn wanted to have half the kingdom, which Duncan would not consent to, but Macbeth did ; he claiming the kingdom through his wife.

Ingebiorg, whom Malcolm Canmore married, had probably been Thorfinn's second wife ; at least, he was succeeded in Orkney by grown-up sons.

Three days after the date of the *Journal* containing my paper on *The Acquisition of Lothian by Northumbria*, in which the connection of the Bruces with Melrose is discussed, a living tradition of the family came to light in the country, which must be between six and seven hundred years old. A local paper, *The Galashiels Border Record*, of October 3rd, 1891, had a notice of Holydean, a farm with the remains of an old tower, and what is still called the deer-park, within a mile, south-west, of the Eildon Hills. And

the informant, a lady, said there was a tradition that the mother of Robert Bruce was born there. Now we know very well who she was; and it is not in the least likely that Margaret, Countess of Carrick, and heiress of Turnberry Castle on the coast of Ayrshire, had been born at this old stronghold on the eastern frontiers of Cumbria. But it is quite probable that the Robert Bruce who was founder of the Scotch line, the younger son of the *Meschin*, was a Scotchman by birth; the more so that he retained some of these lands after his father had broken with Malcolm Canmore. He must have been born nearly two hundred years before Robert Bruce became King of Scotland.

It is of some importance to notice that, contrary to the received idea, there is no positive evidence whatever that the Bruces were Normans. In the genealogies the first known representative of the family, the *Meschin*, has been split up into a father and son to make them come over with the Conqueror. The best presumption of it is that Brusi was a common Scandinavian name. See Canon Atkinson's *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*.

As to some other recent contributions, I do not know that the cross is ever used against the Evil Eye. The "4", I think, is a common mason's mark; it may represent sacred fire-sticks.

See *St. Thomas of Canterbury*, in series of *History from Contemporary Writers*, for the conviction of those authorities that Henry's penance and William's capture stood in the relation of cause and effect; although, in their zeal, they generally make the effect come before the cause. Lord Hailes says that Henry did penance on a Thursday, and that William was taken prisoner early on the Saturday, and this is probably what really happened. Though, indeed, that is not the question here, which is, What argument prevailed with William and his advisers?

See also the first number of *The Illustrated Archæologist*, June 1893, for a personal peace-offering made by William to his angry cousin; at least, one is inclined to agree that the fairy *cup* given by Henry I to his brother-in-law David of Scotland, and then by William the Lion to Henry II, who had expressed a wish to see it, must have been a real object.

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## Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 7TH JUNE 1893.

ALLAN WYON, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

THE progress of the arrangements for holding the Congress at Winchester was detailed.

It was announced by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, that certain works were in progress, under his direction, adjoining the old Roman Bath in Strand Lane, where, under No. 5, an adjoining Bath (said to have been erected by the Earl of Essex, *temp.* Elizabeth), is about to be removed. The works will be likely to open out a portion of the surroundings of the Roman Bath, and throw some light upon the arrangements; but up to the present no old work has been found, and the bath to be removed proves to be formed of modern brickwork on the marble lining being taken off. Plans of the Roman Bath and the adjacent buildings were exhibited, and promise was given to report at a subsequent Meeting, should anything of interest be met with.

Dr. Alfred C. Fryer rendered the following communications:—

### GAMLA UPPSALA.<sup>1</sup>

I send for exhibition a photograph of the Kungshögarna (Mounds of the Kings) at Gamla Uppsala, which I assisted at taking when I was recently in Sweden. These three large tumuli, more than 215 ft. in diameter, are called the Mounds of the Kings, or the Mounds of Oden, Frö, and Tor.

Oden's Mound is the most easterly, and was first explored in 1846. The lowest part consists of the sandy ridge, and the remainder is artificial, being chiefly composed of sand. The middle is a cairn of rounded stones, 49 ft. in diameter. Dr. Oscar Montelius, in his excellent *Guide to the National Historical Museum of Stockholm*, says, "Part of this cairn covered the remains of the funeral pyre where the body had been burned, and in the centre of the bottom was a closely pressed layer (6 ft. in diameter) of ashes, charcoal, and burnt bones. Three inches

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Mr. Charles H. Derby, B.A.

below this layer was a simple urn of partially burnt clay, embedded in the sand, and covered with a thin stone slab, within a circle of large round stones, intended to preserve it from the pressure of the stone heap and the mass of sand. The urn, 8 in. high, and 10 in. wide, was filled to the brim with burnt bones." Within it, and among the large layer of bones, a lock of hair, remains of several bronze ornaments melted together by the heat of cremation, glass beads, bone combs, iron rivets, bones of dogs, and two fragments of gold ornaments with very fine filigree decoration, were found.

Thor's Mound is the most westerly, and it was not explored until 1874, when it was found that the body had been burnt on the spot, and the mound raised afterwards. Burnt human bones, pieces of gold and bronze ornaments, pieces of gold wire which had been woven in clothing, glass vessels, combs, and other articles of bone ornamented with interlaced animal forms, a small cameo of late Roman work, and several objects which had been more or less destroyed by the great heat of the funeral fire, were discovered.

Dr. Montelius is of opinion that the gold ornaments have been inlaid with garnets, or decorated with filigree.

#### ST. KEVERNE CHURCH, CORNWALL.

During the restoration of this church some interesting fragments of stonework have been discovered. In one of the walled-up, rood-loft turret-stairways pieces of coloured panel-work were found, which Mr. Edmund Sedding considers to have belonged to a stone reredos. A corbel of an archangel with a shield, the head of a late thirteenth century window, two pieces of what may have been a churchyard-cross, forming a carved representation of the Crucifixion, and other fragments were brought to light during the restoration.

Mr. Edmund Sedding, in a recently published letter, says:—"Still more valuable remains were found on opening out the passage in the spandrels of the chancel-arches, through which the priest passed from aisle to aisle. Here were four lower halves of niches with bases and well-moulded shafts. These were coloured gold and red, and the colouring is almost perfect. Part of the canopies was also found, and a portion of one figure. These fragments," Mr. Sedding adds, "formed part of a very ornate altar of the fifteenth century, and it is quite evident that such elaborate details were not worked in Cornwall. They must have been brought from Beaulieu, in connection with which Monastery St. Keverne was known to be from the thirteenth century."

#### NOTES ON THE COLOUR OF THE PARTHENON.

The marble of Pentelicus was largely used by the ancients. It was white and fine-grained, and at one time the Greeks preferred it to

Parian. The Parthenon was built of it; and I have recently submitted a small fraction of one of the pillars to a chemical analysis. I find the rich yellow colour is not caused by paint, but to a coating of hydrated oxide of iron left after the weathering of the surface of the marble. The percentage of hydrated oxide of iron was 0.154.

A photograph of the three large tumuli at Upsala was exhibited.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited the objects named in the following list:—

“A fine, tall, oviform Roman olla, black, and highly glazed, found lately in grubbing a hedge in Canterbury. Elegant in form, it may or may not be a product of the Upchurch pottery, but rather excels the well-known types of art on the Medway.

“Of ancient Egyptian art,—a fine necklace, from Tel-el-Amarna, of blue bugles, in pottery, with many pendants, the chiefest being a fine bast lion, headed, and bearing the orb; also, in limestone, the matrix of an ear of bearded wheat, of the size of nature; intended probably for a casting for use in mummification: if so, a testimony to a belief in a future life. The exhibitor related an incident in the experience of a friend. Barley is frequently found in ear or grain, or both, in the hands of Peruvian mummies, the eyes of which had been supplied by the cornea of the larger cuttlefish. The reply to the question, ‘How is it they buried barley with the mummies?’ came thus, and from a native, ‘When he wakes he will be hungry, and able to eat, and sow the barley, and will know what it is.’ Certainly a testimony to belief in a future life, uniting ancient Egypt and ancient Peru.

“Three fine specimens of ancient Venetian glass,—a large flower-vase of the rare *vitro d’oro*, splashed with colour; another vase, in shape of a dolphin open-mouthed, balanced on its tail, with a wide-spread basis of lace-like glass in pattern (not reticulated); a figure of Cupid, winged, tinted, and ornamented with gold and colour; also an extraordinary drinking-vessel of Chinese art, about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. in height, of glass resembling grey granite in grain, but glass, wanting both crystal and mica specks; otherwise the eye and hand are alike deceived by the accuracy of the artist.

“Also an Oriental vessel, silvered, found in sewer-excavations in Canterbury; and a fine ‘sign’ of St. Thomas à Becket, found in London, in which the Archbishop appears mitred and caped, supported by two swords.

“To these were added two photographs, lately taken for the Sultan, and under strong cavalry guard, of the interior of the Mosque at Hebron, one of the most sacred of sacred places. They exhibit the present arrangement of the interior, with the cenotaphs of Jacob and Rebecca. The bodies of the Patriarch and their kin repose in the

cave beneath the floor of the Mosque. The cenotaphs, built of red and white stone, are but memorials. These rare photographs have everywhere excited great interest, and were now exhibited by the courtesy of Dr. Eyre, Archbishop of Glasgow."

A paper was then read by Edgar Barclay, Esq., on "Stonehenge", which is printed at pp. 179-205.

A paper prepared by J. H. Macmichael, Esq., on the "Evil Eye", was postponed owing to the lateness of the hour.

We take the opportunity of introducing here an illustration of a remarkable leaden object previously exhibited by Mr. W. de Gray Birch. It is evidently a relic of the thirteenth century.



Leaden Plaque found near Ramsey Abbey.



## Antiquarian Intelligence.

*The Joslin Museum at Colchester.*—The fund for the purchase of Mr. George Joslin's valuable and extensive collection of antiquities is approaching a satisfactory conclusion. Mr. Joslin asked £2,000 for his collection ; but in the event of its being purchased for Colchester, promised a donation of £300. He has since reduced his terms to £1,300 net cash, and will hand over the Museum on payment of that sum, subject to a further £200 being paid in four years' time, at the rate of £50 per year. Of the amount immediately required (£1,300), upwards of £1,100 has already been promised ; and as active measures are being taken to secure the small remaining balance, most of which is already in sight, the Committee expect to be in a position to complete the purchase within a short period.

Owing to the interest taken in this fund by the present Mayor, to whose active assistance success has been, to a great extent, due, it is thought desirable, if possible, to secure the transfer of this Museum during his year of office. Subscriptions may be sent either to the Secretaries or to the Joslin Museum Fund Account at Messrs. Gurneys, Round, Green, Hoare, and Co.'s Bank, Colchester.

*Early English Printing ; a Portfolio of Facsimiles.* Edited by E. GORDON DUFF.—Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. are preparing for publication a portfolio of facsimiles illustrating the history of printing in England in the fifteenth century, which will be edited by Mr. E. Gordon Duff, author of the volume on *Early Printed Books* in their series of *Books about Books*.

Such a series of facsimiles has been edited for the Low Countries by M. Holtrop, and for France by M. Thierry-Poux, and the chief issues of the presses of Germany and Italy are now being illustrated in a work in course of publication by Dr. Konrad Burger. In England no attempt has yet been made to do justice to the work of any printer except Caxton, and the productions of the presses at Oxford and St. Alban's, and the early books printed by Letton and Machlinia, by Wynkyn de Worde, Pynson, and Julian Notary, have been almost wholly neglected. Thus quite one-half of Mr. Duff's book will cover ground which may almost be described as new, and even for the more familiar books of Caxton, the superiority of the collotype process, in

use at the Clarendon Press, over the older methods of reproduction, will make this series of facsimiles indispensable to every student of English printing in the fifteenth century. The portfolio will contain about forty plates, giving in all over sixty facsimiles the exact size of the originals, and in every case consisting of an entire page. In these sixty facsimiles a specimen will be shown of every type used in England before 1500, which has yet been discovered, and reproductions will also be given of all the printer's devices.

An introduction of about forty pages (large folio) will be prefixed, containing an account of the various types, and tracing, as far as possible, their origin, and the period during which they were used. There will also be short notices of the printers, giving the facts necessary for understanding the development of their work.

In order to enable the plates to be more readily used for comparison and reference, they will be issued loose in a portfolio. The size of each plate will be 15 in. by 11 in.

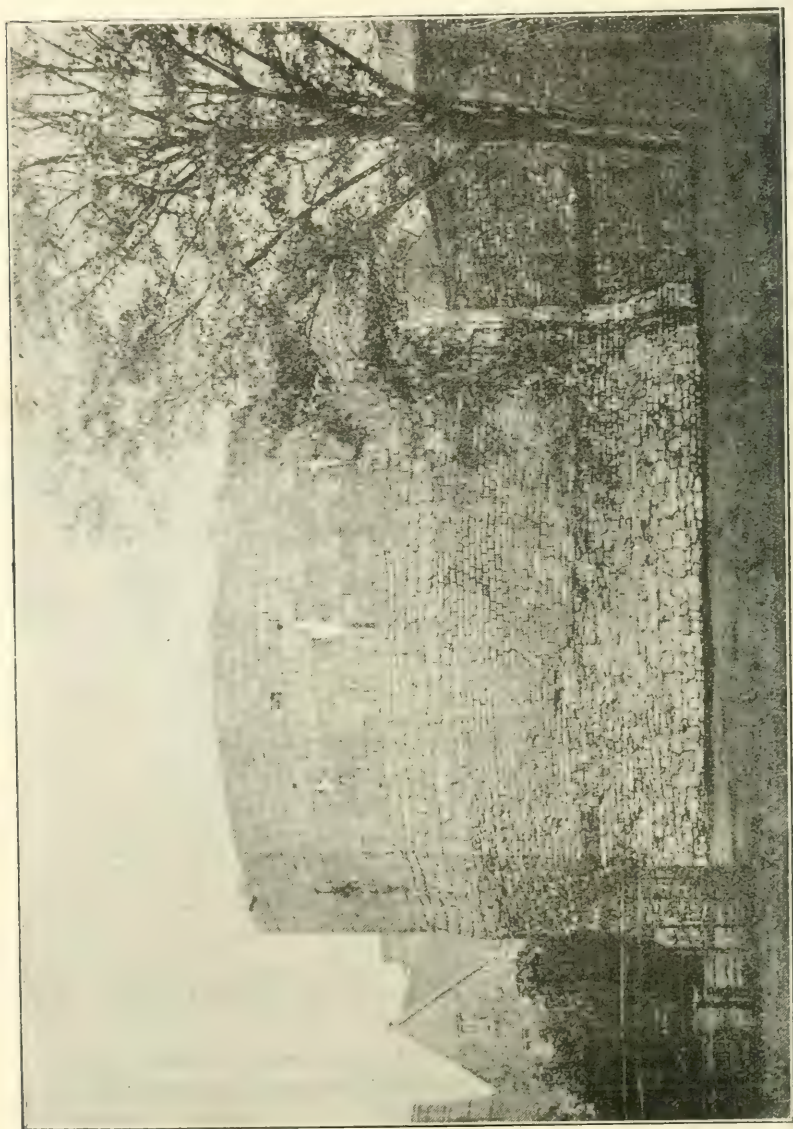
Only 300 copies will be printed for sale. The price of the portfolio to subscribers before publication will be 25s. net. Any copies not subscribed for before publication will be offered to the public in the ordinary way, through the booksellers, at two guineas per copy.

*The Martial Annals of the City of York.* By the Rev. CÆSAR CAINE, F.R.G.S. (London: C. J. Clark.)—The author here makes an interesting digression from the beaten path of archaeology, and has constructed from military records only a very readable history of a great city, celebrated in the early days of the world as a strong place, and possessing an unrivalled reputation in Roman and English history. There can be no doubt that the peculiarly well-gifted site of York, at the confluence of the Ouse and the Foss, on ground of commanding elevation, attracted the attention of many a tribe of the earliest inhabitants of northern England long before the Romans stamped it at once and for ever as a military town by the construction of the camp of which so many traces have been preserved and illustrated by the care and attention of the learned.

Those of us who visited York during the Congress of 1891 were struck with the magnitude of the area enclosed by the walls, and the excellent preservation not only of the architectural remains *in situ*, but also the numerous smaller and portable objects of antiquity exhibited in the Museum, which bear witness to the military nature of the Roman tenure of the district.

The multi-angular tower (of which we are enabled to give a plate) is, perhaps, one of the oldest of the first class of martial antiquities, a large portion of which is of rubble faced with ashlar, with bands of brick courses. This kind of work may be compared with the Roman

work at Chichester, Dover, and other places, where variations in the methods of construction are observable.



The Multi-Angular Tower, York.

One of the most noteworthy of the second class is the altar dedicated to Neptune by the Sixth Legion; and another is the Roman soldier, or youthful Mars,—a statue which, although of local origin, is



one of the finest specimens of Romano-British work with which British exploration has rewarded research.



Romano-British Statue, York Museum.

To the Roman occupation succeeded the Saxon and Danish period; and here the literary history transcends the archæological, which has few relics to exhibit, unless Mr. Caine's statement that the original foundations of the present walls and bars are supposed to be Danish is correct.



The annals of the eleventh and succeeding centuries are replete with references to the place occupied by York as a military position in the history of England. Æthelstan, Harold, Tostig, William the Conqueror, and many another great name, flit in shadowy remembrance through the pages of this work, in which are stored up, in careful order, notices of all the occasions when York has played a prominent strategic part in past history.

The devastation of the North by William is one of the many episodes which has to be studied in connection with the history of York, and for many a year the progress of consolidation of the empire of England was retarded by this ill-advised act on the part of a man who has generally been credited with more far-seeing prudence and forethought. All this has been chronicled by the author, who devotes portions of his work to the connection of the Knights Templars, the Crusaders, the rebellion of Archbishop Scrope, and other various incidents in the civil war of the Stuart period in which York was concerned.

The gradual rise of York into the position of a garrison is well and carefully traced, with that degree of fulness which a work specially treating of the military life of a city demands. It is a somewhat new way of looking at the old cathedral city, but one that deserved record; and in our opinion Mr. Caine has executed his task in a very readable and attractive manner, which renders the result not merely a collection of dry notes for the antiquary and historian, but a useful textbook for the military annalist; and being tastefully printed, and suitably illustrated, it is a work which may take a prominent place in any library.

*Alfriston Clergy House.*—The Vicar, who is anxious to complete the preservation of "The Old Vicarage", writes that the architect has reported "that the eastern portion of this building is now approaching completion, and the work executed will, I think, convince you that a restoration preserving every timber possible in its place is perfectly feasible. The work has been executed with minute and scrupulous accuracy, and has rendered the portion dealt with as sound and firm as it was originally. We shall be able to complete the roofing of this eastern portion with the sum now in hand. With a further £100 the central portion could be dealt with. This is really of urgent importance, as during a late storm the roof fell in, and this portion is now quite roofless. I am fearful of the effects of the winter storms upon it in its present state, and I would venture to urge you to make a strong effort to at least enable the roof to be put on at once over the central portion. The building could then be left in comparative safety."

It is to be hoped that the desired help will be forthcoming.

*Armorial Families.* Compiled and edited by ARTHUR CHARLES FOX-DAVIES, Granville House, Arundel Street, W.C.—During the revision of another heraldic work, the Editor has frequently found the want, which he understands is felt in many quarters, of a book containing genuine and absolutely reliable information, and such only, as to the coats of arms legitimately in use at the present day. Hitherto many excellent works upon kindred lines have reached the public; but until within the last few years no attempt whatsoever has been made to distinguish good arms from bad, or to ascertain whether a legitimate title existed, or could be proved, to those displayed; and even of late years efforts have been made only in a minor degree.

It is intended, consequently, to publish in 1894 the first issue of the above book, which it is hoped will subsequently appear annually; and this the Editor and publishers believe will be the first attempt to collect in an available form a compendium of all armorial bearings *legitimately in use*, and a complete index of all people who are *genuinely entitled* to bear them. It is hardly expected that in the first issue every armigerous person will be included within the covers of the volume, but no efforts will be spared to render the lists as complete and perfect as may be possible: and the work so carried out must very shortly be within measurable distance of being perfect. With this end in view, and for the sake of genuine armoury as opposed to the corrupt insignia so often displayed, the Editor confidently asks, and will be grateful for, the assistance and countenance of all those who do of right bear arms.

In order to obtain the highest and most authentic information upon these points the Editor is permitted to state that the work will be carried out with the assistance and advice of Charles Harold Athill, Esq., F.S.A., Richmond Herald, and that the Scottish armorial bearings will in all cases be submitted to, and verified by, the authorities of Lyon Office, whilst due reference will be made to Ulster's Office as to the accuracy of Irish arms.

The work will be published at five guineas net to subscribers, Library Edition; an *édition de luxe*, India proofs, bound in full morocco, limited to 400 copies, signed and numbered, at ten guineas net to subscribers.

*Llantwit Major: a Fifth Century University.* By ALFRED C. FRYER, Ph.D., M.A.—Few ancient villages possess such a wealth of historical associations as Llantwit Major, and few can claim to have been connected with a seat of learning as early as the fifth century. Although the greatness of Llantwit was not of long duration, yet it was a luminous point, diffusing its rays in all directions, long before Oxford and Cambridge. This inconsiderable Welsh village, so far removed from

the work-a-day world of the nineteenth century, was once of "great population and eminence". All around we find remains of an earlier antiquity,—fragments of old houses, numerous intersecting streets, grassy mounds covering the foundations of ancient buildings, crosses (memorial and sepulchral), all silently speak of its past greatness. Llantwit may be little known, but all who visit it may still find many a witness to its long-departed glory.

Mention is made of the College founded at Caer Worgorn by "the Emperor Theodosius in conjunction with Cystennyn Llydaw (Constantine), surnamed the Blessed", and St. Patrick's supposed connection with Côr Tewdws is discussed. The seminary founded by Eurgain, daughter of Caractacus, "near the place now called Llantwit", has also received attention. The author believes that either at Llantwit or in its immediate neighbourhood a seminary was founded at an early date. This continued to exist until the year 446, when the Irish burnt it to the ground. It was rebuilt in the days of St. Dyfrig, and Illtyd was appointed its Principal. Under the rule of this remarkable man the place became celebrated.

The author has endeavoured to sketch the line of study that may have been carried on at Llantwit during the end of the fifth and the early part of the sixth century. During this period many leaders of men and thought were educated in Illtyd's famous schools, and short biographical sketches of St. Samson of Dôl, St. Paul of Léon, St. Maglorius, St. Leonorus, St. David of Menevia, St. Gildas the historian, and others, are given; while a chapter is devoted to the life of St. Illtyd,—knight, hermit, scholar, and Principal of this great school of learning.

The book will be tastefully printed in large crown octavo, and will be published at 4s. 6*d.* Subscribers, however, will be charged 3s. 5*d.* per copy up to the time of closing the subscription list. Those desiring to secure the work should send their names to Mr. Elliot Stock early, as a limited edition is to be printed.

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### NOTES ON THE ISIS IN THE SAXON CHARTERS, AND THE SIGNIFICATION OF BERKSHIRE.

BY W. DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

*(Read at the Oxford Congress.)*

It is a very important method of procedure in our critical researches into the true derivation and signification of names, whether of personages, places, or things, that we should not work upwards from current forms, and declare that they must appear in such and such a shape at a given date. This process has led to a vast amount of error in the works of antiquaries and philologists. Much more dangerous and fallacious still is the common practice of treating a word as if it had always existed in its present form, and arguing from this form as to the correct meaning. I continue to hold, although I have been frequently opposed, that the only satisfactory method is to begin the work by ascertaining the oldest form, and with that as a basis to work downwards to the current form of the period. Ancient names of rivers and localities in England (and, indeed, everywhere) cannot, unfortunately for the precise matter-of-fact etymologist, be brought under the domination of those well-defined, and one might almost say inflexible, rules of etymology which apply in other cases; for there is an important series of factors, such as the influence of dialect, the operations of



frequent ellipsis, and extensive phonetic corruption, which disturb the equation unless they are admitted and taken into account. The very name of this city of Oxford, which has recently given rise to much debate and argument (almost irreconcilable in some respects), is a good example of the impossibility of using, in the case of names, the ordinary rules of derivation which can be so unerringly applied to the other words of a language.

I desire to direct the attention of the Congress to the occurrence of a certain river or stream, known as *Wasa*, not far from this locality, in Anglo-Saxon documents of the tenth century, and then to endeavour to ascertain what the modern name of that river may be; and if I am able to convince the members that the Saxon *Wasa* is identical with the modern Isis, we shall be all agreed as to the ancient name of that section of the river Thames which is embraced in these charters under a name sufficiently nearly similar to be available for acceptance.

Throughout the whole range of Anglo-Saxon topographical remains, *Wasa* is, so far as my observation goes, confined to four examples only. This fact of itself is of the highest inferential value in the present inquiry; and when those four are found to be four parishes bordering on the Thames, the search becomes still narrower.

(1.) The first mention, taking them in the order of the river's course, is in the charter of King Edwy to his Duke, Ælfheah, of land "*æt Boclande*", viz. at *Buckland*, in Berkshire, in the year 957. It is printed at length in *The Abingdon Chronicle* (vol. i, pp. 242-4), from MSS. in the British Museum. Here, among the other boundaries, occurs the passage, "off the mead out to *Wasa*, off *Wasa* out to the water", and so forth. We must, therefore, so draw the map that in the ancient parish of *Buckland* occurs the landmark or boundaries of *Wasa*. Now the river Thames forms the whole northern boundary of *Buckland*, and it is significant that there is no mention of Thames in this boundary at all.

(2.) In 956 we are confronted with the charter-grant by King Edwy to his thane Æthelnod, of thirteen hides of land at *Fif-hidum*, now *Fifyld*, in Berkshire, an "ancient parish" which had and has the Thames for its northern boundary. The text of the grant is in *The*

*Abingdon Chronicle* (vol. i, pp. 232-34). Here, again, we should feel certain to find mention of the river Thames, but we do not. The boundary includes mention, however, of the river Ock, its south boundary, under Eocene, and also of the Wasa. The boundary is a short one, and, with exception of these two waters, is confined to islands or eyots, ways or paths, moors or uplands, dykes, brooks, and so on. Let us, then, write down *Wasa* in the ancient parish of Fifhide; that is, Fifield. Note the remarkable change from *hide* to *field* in this place-name, which could never have been accepted by an etymologist if this charter had not been preserved by the old monks of Abingdon,—a typical instance of warning to the tyro not to build any explanation of a modern name when he has nothing but that name to deal with.

(3.) Next in order comes the charter of King Edmund to his Earl Æthelstan of ten hides of land at Ermundeslei, “otherwise named Æppeltune”, in 942, the text of which is preserved at full length in *The Chronicle of Abingdon* (vol. i, p. 101). Here we have the remarkable fact that the boundary starts from Temese (the Thames), passes on through dykes and meadows to Wasa, along the Wasa to Tubban Ford, and eventually finds its way to Wasa again. Here, therefore, we must remark in Appleton, or Ermundsley (for there is a special mention that this village rejoiced in the possession of two names), both Thames and Wasa.

There is also, in another *Chronicle of Abingdon* (Claudius, C. ix), of equal antiquity with, if not greater than that to which I have hitherto referred, for convenience’ sake (Claudius, B. vi) as *The Abingdon Chronicle*, because, having been published in the Rolls Series, it will be more easily verified. This older *Chronicle*, of Claudius, C. ix, sets out an independent list of boundaries for Ear-mundesleia, in which the *Wasa* finds a place, but the *Thames* does not. I am inclined, therefore, to see in this that there is a suggestion of synonymy between Thames and Wasa; otherwise we must accept the boundary of this old parish as having no reference to the Thames, which really constitutes a considerable part of its boundary when the map is consulted.

(4.) The last of the four “*Wasa*” charters is the grant

by King Eadgar, Emperor of the whole of Britain ("*totius Britanniae Basileus*"), to Abingdon Abbey of thirty hides of land "*at Cumenoran*", at Cumnor. Here, as in the case of Appleton, the Thames and Wase, or Wæse, find a place in the Anglo-Saxon boundaries, as printed in *The Abingdon Chronicle* (vol. i, p. 268). We must, therefore, mark down in the map both Thames and Wasa in the parish boundary of Cumnor.

The charter of Kingston (Bagpuze), west of Fyfield, granted by King Edward to Abingdon Abbey in 965, mentions the Thames and the Ock in its Saxon boundaries.<sup>1</sup> These rivers still form the northern and southern boundaries of the parish. Let us, then, mark these down, and we now have a skeleton map of this district. It is clear, therefore, that while the Thames river was so named, at least as high as Kingston Bagpuze, in the year 965, there was a something known as *Wasa*, into which dykes flowed and brooks discharged their waters, running from Buckland to Canmor, and constituting the boundaries of four parishes now bounded by the Thames, which we must seek to localise.

It has been suggested that *Wasa* is a word equivalent to "mead" or "ooze", and that there was a ten-mile long fen, ooze, or stagnant pool, boundary of these parishes. This is a statement which requires confirmation by the map, and on reference to the map any one will see that, so far from this being the case, the Berkshire bank of the Thames at these spots consists of a good-sized hill sloping directly to the water's edge throughout its course.

How far *Wasa* is a representative word for a stream I cannot tell. That it is a Celtic word there can be little doubt. It would appear to represent the Welsh *bas*, a shallow or pool, seen in the Wash, Washbourne, Washbrook, Washfield, Washford, and so forth, and is perhaps connected with *vase*, French, *vasa*, Portuguese, for "mud". Mr. W. H. Stevenson, of Nottingham, sees it in "*vase vel fœn, cœnum vel lutum sub aquis fetidum*" of a tenth century glossary. Hence it is not unlikely that the river was very sluggish at this part of its course, and the Ordnance Map seems to show that it spreads itself out into many oozy channels both above and below this city. I

<sup>1</sup> See *Chron. Abingdon*, vol. i, p. 351.

am inclined, therefore, to see in this word *Wasa* a generic form for the river Thames; not necessarily of entirely synonymous, but of almost synonymous use, and probably appertaining more strictly to the eastern part of the river than to the lower part; one which is now lost in the gloom of distant ages, and only preserved to us casually in the notices of the boundaries of these four Berkshire parishes. Whether this is the forerunner of the word *Isis* or not it is impossible to say; but I see no difficulty in accepting such a theory founded on the analogous changes in the form of place-names which have been established beyond dispute, provided it can be shown that *Isis* is a mediæval word.

*Signification of the Name of Berkshire.*—I now come to the second section of my paper, the derivation of the name of Berkshire, for which I offer a new solution. The royal woodland county of Berkshire was at first but an ill-defined portion of southern England. We are told by a recent historian of Berkshire that as late as Leland's time the Forest of Windsor, of fir and beech, and possibly box, on the upland, and of oak and elm and birch on the nether slopes, extended some *forty* miles from Windsor to Hungerford (that is, from east to west), for he speaks of "the wood which cummith out of Berkshire and the great woddis of the Forest of Windlesore, into the great Frithe." It would appear from this, therefore, that as late as the thirteenth century the woodland of Windsor Forest was only separated from that of Berkshire by the Valley of the Loddon; and it is on record that the Kennet Valley was not directed to be disafforested until 1226. The only clearing, as time went on, lay on the fringe of those parts where the wood was less dense and less massive.

Lieut. Cooper King, in his *History of Berkshire* (1887), speaks of the Celtic tribes of the *Bibroci* (a local branch of the Hædui from Autun) as the eponymic tribes whence comes one of the derivations of the name of *Berks*. I cannot accept this theory.

The Lysons, who have done so much for the antiquarian history of England by the publication of their *Magna Britannia*, in their account of Berkshire tell us that Asser Menevensis, the biographer of King Alfred, states



that the county derives its name from a certain wood called *Berroc*, which abounded in box-trees; but it does not appear that this circumstance had any connection with the name. *Barroc* Wood is mentioned as the property of the nuns of Ambresbury, in Wiltshire, in the charter of King John (first year, 1199);<sup>1</sup> and it is probable that it was only of very limited extent, somewhere on or near the Berkshire Downs between Wantage and Lambourn. Camden, who says what is practically written above, adds that others name this county from a certain disbarked oak-tree, which the word *Beroke* (i.e., bare oak) means; at which tree, in critical times, the inhabitants used to meet to consult about their affairs. I fear this is specious and untenable.

No doubt there was a wood called *Berroc* near Wantage; but the word is an old generic name for the primæval wood which, when shires were in process of formation and appellation, covered up the face of the land of England far more extensively than it does now.

This brings me to the suggestion of the true signification of Berkshire, which I wish now to propound. The Celtic or Welsh word *Pearruc*, which occurs in Anglo-Saxon charters, has been shown by Kemble and other writers to be a word derived from *parochia*, and cognate with our modern word *park*, an enclosure or domain of ascertained area, constituting, as a parish or park does, a *locus* of defined rights and liberties. By the well-known and universally admitted interchange of the letters P and B we arrive at the form *Bearroc* or *Bearruc*, which, while it was preserved in the name of a small wood in the case of the Ambresbury property at Wantage (to which attention has been drawn), is also preserved in a far more extended manner in the name of the county,—the *Pearruc*- or *Bearroc*-shire, the shire of the great wood; *par excellence*, of Windsor Forest and its western extensions,—the Forest, with its woodland liberties and rights, extending not only over a great part of this county, but also into the adjacent shires,—the Park-shire, Berkshire.

<sup>1</sup> Dugd., *Mon. Angl.*, ii, 335, col. 2, and 336, col. 1.



## THE BELLARMINE OR GREYBEARD.

BY J. H. MACMICHAEL, ESQ.

(Read 1st June 1892.)

IF there is one object that is more constantly turned up than another in the London soil, it is the German stone-ware<sup>1</sup> drinking-vessel known at various times, and in various circumstances, as the "Cologne Pot", the "Greybeard", and the "Bellarmine", a relic which is to this day commonly described by labourers as a "Dutch jug".

To judge from the ubiquity of its remains, this drinking-pot was in universal use in the days of Elizabeth and the five Stuarts, when in home, tavern, and hostelry, beer was breakfasted upon, dined upon, and supped upon. So plentifully do they seem to have been imported, that being found to combine, for building purposes, the qualities of lightness and strength, fractured ones, with similar earthen vessels (of which instances occur in various parts of the country, and notably, I believe, in a church in Leeds), were used like the hollow brick of Roman and of occasionally modern architecture, in the construction of old walls;<sup>2</sup> while the localities in which these relics of the Greybeard are found may be said to mark the limits of London's populated area from the latter part of the last of the Tudors' reign to the opening of the eighteenth century, with the same certainty that the lustrous red ware of the Romans indicates the confines of settlement in their commercial capital.

At the will of the potter or of the statuary, Man re-

<sup>1</sup> It was so called because of its intense hardness, which, indeed, is such that fire may be produced by the percussion of a fragment with steel; hence the term "stone jug" was applied to a prison because of its durability, strength, and hardness.

<sup>2</sup> The hollow tiles known as "Sloane's cones" and "half cones" (see Mr. Cuming's paper in vol. xvi of this *Journal*) were employed in the building of the Bank of England; and in the upper portion of the hall of Caracalla's Circus, near Rome, are many large globular amphoræ embedded in the masonry, in rows. (W. J. Bernhard Smith in *Notes and Queries*, Jan 27, 1885.)

arises, phoenix-like, from his original element, and in the shimmering, salt-glazed surface of the Greybeard is reflected the grotesquely brutal aspect which there is no doubt, in the hands of the potter (mindful of the proverb that "the body is the socket of the soul"), it was intended to bear, namely that of a sleek-ribbed, vicious, hard-faced tyrant:—

"The open mouth that seemed to containe  
A full, good pecke within the utmost brim;  
All set with yron teeth in rannges twaine,  
That terrified his foes, and armed him,  
Appearing, like the mouth of Orcus, griesly grim."

The potter's skill has certainly invested the mask, and what, in the language of the fictile art, would be called the "belly", with a quaint resemblance to such a man. One need not allude to an idiom for which this Falstaffian rotundity is responsible; but it may be mentioned that Robert Burns sings in verse of "The big-bellied Bottle", the Scotch survival of the seventeenth century commodity:

"No churchman am I for to rail or to write,  
No statesman nor soldier to plot or to fight,  
No sly man of business contriving a snare,  
For a big-bellied bottle the whole of my care."

The Greybeard is said to be still known by that name in parts of Scotland, though the Bellarmine visage is no longer thereon depicted. In Sir Walter Scott's *Monastery* (chap. ix) allusion is thus made to it: "An', wife, ye may keep for the next pilgrim that comes over the Border, the grunds of the Greybeard, and the ill-baked bannock which the children couldna eat."

The idea of comprehending in the form of this jug the face, neck, and trunk of a human being appears to have been by no means original. We may even point, with some degree of certainty, to its prototype as having existed in the mediæval earthenware jug or pitcher, an example of which the late Mr. A. C. Kirkman exhibited at a meeting of the Association in 1847, and which is engraved in vol. iii of the *Journal*.<sup>1</sup> This bears a most

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes, too, the Greybeard was represented with two human arms clad in richly slashed and embroidered sleeves, and which hung

remarkable resemblance, in respect of the arms and hands as they rest upon the "belly", to an example of Peruvian earthware to be seen in Case 33 in the ancient American Pottery Department of the British Museum: indeed, the conquests of Cortez and Pizarro had probably led to the portrait-jugs of Mexico and Peru being rendered familiar as a type to the eye of the European potter; or, without going so far abroad, the student of *fictilia* must have been acquainted with ancient funeral urns, such as those with rudely modelled human faces, which have been found in the Prussian province of Pommerellen, near Dantzic,<sup>1</sup> or even with the sepulchral, canopic jar of Etruria with its memorially portrayed face upon the neck.<sup>2</sup> Whilst, however, this latter was dedicated, like the canopus of Egyptian sarcophagi, in reverence to the memory of the dead, and was a receptacle for their ashes, the Greybeard was used in derision of the living, in taverns where it may frequently, it is true, have been the "grave of lost opportunities", though there is little else that is sepulchral with which it was associated.

The historic associations of the Bellarmine, the frequently enigmatic character of the heraldry upon the medallions, which invest even the sherds that are found with as great an interest sometimes as the vessel itself, and its generally archaic appearance, unite to render it an object well meriting the antiquary's attention. The

on each side of the neck. (See M. L. Solon's *The Ancient Art-Stoneware of the Low Countries and Germany*. Lond., 1892, folio, vol. ii, pp. 6, 12, 17.)

<sup>1</sup> But with the exception of one funeral urn with a human face, found at Sprotton in Silesia, another at Gogolin (in the district of Culm, West Prussia), a third found in the province of Posen, and a fourth in the province of Saxony, no such urn has ever been found anywhere but in Pommerellen. Of course I do not speak here of the Roman urns with human faces, of which some have been found on the Rhine, and large numbers in Italy. (See Schliemann's *Ilios*, 1880, p. 292.)

<sup>2</sup> See Dennis' *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. ii, where there is an illustration of this sepulchral portrait-pot. It is worthy of observation that when this curious relic of the seventeenth century potter's art first began to attract attention, it was, doubtless from the resemblance alluded to, presumed to have been used for sepulchral purposes. (See *Notes and Queries*, First Series, vol. x, p. 386, and vol. xi, p. 233.)



monstrously beetled brows ; the hard, ludicrously savage mouth, whence we have another vulgarism implying an absence of beauty in that feature ;<sup>1</sup> the flat nose, the sensualist's cruel eyes,<sup>2</sup>—"these are old, fond paradoxes to make fools laugh i' the alehouse", and can well be understood to have rendered the zealous Romanist, or any other personage of whom it was imagined to be a caricature (and in the Low Countries and certain German towns the mask was taken as the portrait of Charlemagne<sup>3</sup>), an object of unbridled derision, notwithstanding that Bellarmine's features were, judging, I think, from many of the masks, no less than from engravings, not of an unpleasing type : indeed, many of the faces have such a general resemblance to each other that one is almost disposed to see in them a certain expression of boldness which had, perhaps, become familiar to the thousands in the Low Countries amongst whom, through his constant harangues from the pulpit, Bellarmine's face had become familiar. And this expression is certainly not apparent in the engraved portraits of the famous Cardinal, of which a collection of twelve or so may be seen in the Print Department of the British Museum, whilst books like Whitaker's *Disputations of Holy Scripture*, relating to the Bellarmine controversies, often contain a portrait of this historic personage facing the title-page.

Perhaps the more legitimate name of the jug was the "Greybeard", an Anglicised form of the German "Bartmann", or bearded man, a name which in both cases alludes to what Randle Holme calls "the broad or cathedral beard which bishops and grave men of the Church anciently did wear,<sup>4</sup> and which upon the necks of the

<sup>1</sup> The mug-houses of Whig and Jacobite times are said to have derived their name from Lord Shaftesbury's "ugly mug", which the beer-cups were moulded to resemble.

<sup>2</sup> Among the *Stafford Letters* is one from Mr. Secretary Windebank to the Lord Deputy Wentworth, wherein the following allusion is made to the proverbial ugliness of the mask : "There never appeared a worse face under a cork upon a bottle than your Lordship hath caused some to make in disgorging such Church livings as their zeal hath eaten up." (Nov. 20, 1633.)

<sup>3</sup> See *The Ancient Art-Stoneware of the Low Countries and Germany*, by M. L. Solon, vol. ii.

<sup>4</sup> Randle Holme's *Armoury*.

larger vessels is often represented square-cut, "narrow above and broad beneath".<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it was when the beard upon the neck was elongated that it was known in Germany, says Mr. Chaffers, as the "Barbmann" or "Bartmann"; in which circumstances it was probably known, *Anglicè*, as a "long beard".<sup>2</sup>

The beard upon the larger and more carefully designed masks is often square-cut, and has six principal points, thus corresponding with the engraving of such a beard as alluded to in Holme's *Armoury*. The fact that this fashion in hirsute appendages is there called the *cathedral* beard is sufficient indication that the mask was intended for that of an ecclesiastic, and an argument which should weigh with those who, in spite of allusions to the jug by writers of the time, under the name of "Bellarmine", say that the vessel was not so known by name. In the old play of *The Ordinary* is an allusion to both jug and beard :

....."like a larger jug that some men call  
A Bellarmine, but we a Conscience,<sup>3</sup>  
Whereon the lewder hand of pagan workmen  
Over the proud, ambitious head hath carved  
An idol large *with beard episcopal*,  
Making the vessel look like tyrant Eglon."

In thus citing this suggestive resemblance of the vessel to Eglon, the writer makes an apt comparison with that oppressor of the children of Israel, the Moabite King, whose obesity was remarkable enough to be mentioned in *Judges* in connection with the tragic circumstances of his death.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bulwer's *Artificial Changeling*.

<sup>2</sup> "Longbeard" was from the earliest times a *sobriquet* applied to those whom nature had thus richly endowed with a flowing beard. Cormack, King of the Britons, was thus surnamed (Toland's *Hist. of the Druids*, p. 98), and the instigator and leader of the riot in London in the reign of Richard I was nicknamed "Longbeard".

<sup>3</sup> A similarly peculiar use of the word "conscience" occurs in Middleton's play, *The Phoenix* (1607): "Oh, that's out of use now. Sword and buckler was cal'd a good *conscience*; but that weapon's left long agoe." "We have heard of long, narrow drinking-cups now in use (1876) for a single draught, denominated a 'long conscience' and a 'short conscience'; the one holding three pints, and the other a quart." (See J. Hazelwood's Notes to Braithwaite's *Barnabæ Itinerarium*.)

<sup>4</sup> *Judges*, iii, 12-17.

The jug was probably in use some time before Bellarmine appeared upon the scene; but at his advent the potters, no doubt, took advantage of the situation by thus, with grim humour, caricaturing the Cardinal's face. The absence of allusion to it in the old English plays before the reign of James I, as the Bellarmine, would indicate that it was at this time so named in compliment to James for his championship of the Protestant cause, in his memorable rejoinder to Bellarmine's celebrated letter, wherein the Cardinal endeavoured to detach English Roman Catholics from their oath of allegiance.

Although Shakespeare makes no allusion to this drinking vessel under the name of "Greybeard", he supplies the cue to a reason for its being so called in the frequent use which he makes of the word,—a use which furnishes a pretty reliable indication that it was understood in his time in a semi-contemptuous manner of the possessor of a beard of that hue, who had some objectionable trait, real or imaginary, in his character. On the other hand, a "grizzled" or "grizzly" beard seems to convey its meed of respect, whilst a "white" beard is nearly always spoken of with veneration. Tranio, in *The Taming of the Shrew*, says derisively to Gremio, Bianca's elderly suitor, "Greybeard, thy love doth freeze"; and again, "We'll overreach the greybeard Gremio". Julius Cæsar, too, exclaims of the senators shortly before his plotted death, "Shall I be afeard to tell greybeards the truth?" And Richard of Gloucester, in accordance with the character which Shakespeare has given him, soliloquises sneeringly upon "the love which greybeards call divine", which he possesses not. Such instances occur where the expression is used by the great dramatist half derisively, but is never applied to the stoneware jug in question; which, however, or its equivalent in measure, was in universal use in his time. Thus, whenever such a utensil is alluded to, it is spoken of first as a "pot", which measured in height  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in., and held a quart; a "pottle-pot",<sup>1</sup>  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in.,

<sup>1</sup> A "pottle-pot", says Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, "was strictly applied to any kind of pot or drinking-jug holding a pottle, or two quarts; but the term was sometimes used with some licence." It is supposed that "pottles" for strawberries were originally of the same capacity.

holding two quarts; and a "little pot", 6 in. high, of the capacity of a pint. The "gallonier", which Shakespeare does not mention, held either one or more gallons, and varied in height from 12 in. upwards.

In these jugs were served, as is shown by the frequent mention of the circumstance in the old English plays, what was known as 4s. beer (presumably "small beer") and 6s. "ale".<sup>1</sup> Says Aristippus in *The Jovial Philosopher*, "Your drinking is syllogismes, where a pottle (two quarts) is the *major terminus*, a pint (little pot), the *minor*, and a quart (a pot) the *medium*."

The Greybeard cannot be said to have been instrumental in augmenting the resources of the English language with idioms remarkable for their elegance, for it is to the imposing beard upon the necks of the larger varieties of this quaint pitcher (to what the melancholy Jaques calls the "beard of formal cut") is owing the vulgar expression, "a big pot". Thus Cartwright, in the old play of *Lady Errant*,—

"The greater sort they say  
Are like stone pots, with beards that do reach down  
Even to the knees."

And "a pot of beer" has, no doubt, been in its favourite position on the lips of the British workman, who is "most potent in potting", ever since, and probably long before Shakespeare's "third neighbour", in the play of *Henry VI*, drank with the exclamation, "Here 's a pot of good double beer, neighbour," to the success of the Armourer in his encounter with the apprentice, his accuser.

An interesting example of the mask which is before the meeting is, compared with all those most easily accessible for comparison in the public museums, remarkable for the delicacy of its execution; and to this I may especially invite attention, for besides representing the Cardinal in a not unattractive light, physiognomically (a circumstance frequently noticeable upon the larger Grey-

<sup>1</sup> From Riley's *Memorials of the City of London* one gathers that the brewers were compelled by law, in the year of grace 1613, to brew only two sorts of beer, namely 4s. and 8s. per barrel, a statement at variance with the above.



beards, and this is the neck of the largest, perfect or *im*-perfect, that I have yet seen), it has some historic interest. This interest lies in its having been found on the site of Sir William Drury's house in Drury Lane, upon the occasion of its being excavated for the foundations of the new Olympic Theatre. Sir William Drury died in 1579, so that Bellarmine, who was born in 1542, was then thirty-seven years old, and his disputations had probably reached fever-heat in the religious controversy of the time.

Aristippus, in *The Jovial Philosopher*, affords us an illustration of the hatred in which Bellarmine was apparently held. The "schollers" having decided, to their own satisfaction, that the consumption of beer instead of sack did not become a philosopher, are overheard by the *Wildman*, who, enlisting the aid of two brewers, break in upon the "schollers" and beat them, thus vindicating the virtues of (according to tradition) the first cereal cultivated; and the *Wildman*, seeing the students' books, exclaims, "They are the bookes of the blacke art: I hate them worse than Bellarmine."

It is, perhaps, too much to claim for this Tudor relic that it has figured in any such important hospitalities as those which must have been exacted in entertaining Queen Elizabeth at Drury House, yet the Virgin Queen held "Lady Besse" in high esteem, as appears by her having written to her in quaint terms of condolence upon the death of Sir William Drury.<sup>1</sup> Sir William died in 1579, so that Bellarmine, whose seven years of campaign in Flanders dated from 1569 to 1576, was not more than thirty years old. It must, therefore, have been about this time (*i.e.*, between the years 1569 and 1576) that the potters in the Lowlands (Freschen or Fröschen, near Cologne, is supposed with good reason to be the place where this stoneware was *first* made<sup>2</sup>) conceived the idea of ridiculing Bellarmine by means of the mask: a notion which thus had its birth during the raging of religious strife which ensued upon the attempt of the Low

<sup>1</sup> Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. vi, p. 459.

<sup>2</sup> See Solon's *Ancient Art-Stoneware of the Low Countries and Germany*, an elaborate work embellished with beautiful copper-plate engravings (London, 1892), fol., vol. ii.

Countries to throw off the Spanish yoke, and when the bitterness of religious animosity was accentuated by the sanguinary proceedings of the Duke of Alva, which began in 1567. So that, as we have seen, it was soon after this that Bellarmine came upon the scene ; in more peaceable guise, however, in respect of his mission, as became one who, to his credit it should be said, was accustomed to say that "one ounce of peace was worth a pound of victory".

*The Medallions.*—The chief point of interest in the "Cologne Pot", next to its association with the momentous issues of the period with which it is identified, lies in the heraldry of the medallions below the mask. These are often rudely executed, and of a commonplace character ; but they are never meaningless, and even consist frequently of elaborate coats of arms either appertaining to the town in or for which the vessels were made, or they display the heraldic achievements of the "greater sort" of the Flanders nobility. Sometimes merchant-marks occur. Mr. Way possesses what seems to be a unique example, evidently made for the use of some religious community. The medallion exhibits a design consisting of the Sacred Heart surmounted by the three Passion nails, on each side of which are six raised dots, intended, presumably, for the twelve drops of blood, and which in heraldry are known as "gouttes". Above the whole are the letters I. H. S. ; the H, the central letter, being ensigned with the cross. Such a device adorns the title-pages of books issued by the Jesuit community in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ;<sup>1</sup> and the copper medal which the Sisters of Charity in Paris carry attached to their chaplets also bears the three Passion nails placed fan-wise, resembling the pheon, or broad arrow, with the I. H. S. and cross above.

The only instance of one bearing the name of a town in the Rhine country, of which I am aware, is now upon the table, *Jansberg* being the unmistakable legend. The arms of Amsterdam are of common occurrence,

<sup>1</sup> See the *Bagford Title-Pages*.

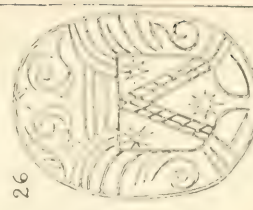
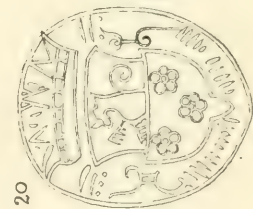
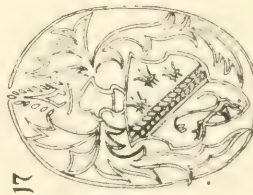
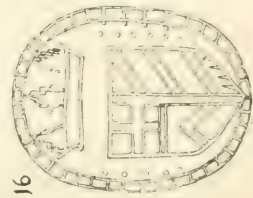
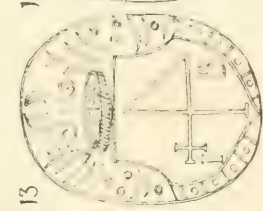
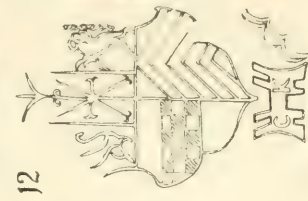
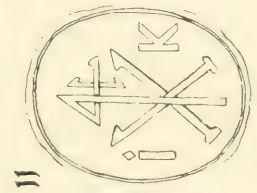
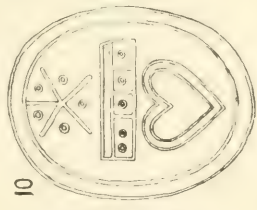
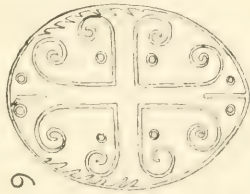
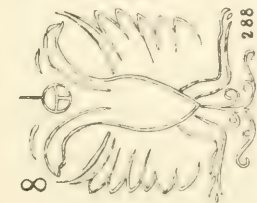
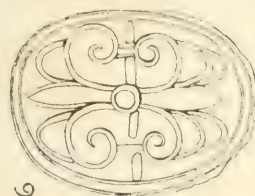
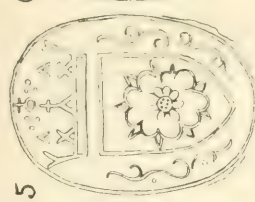
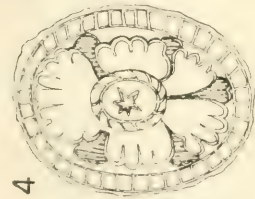
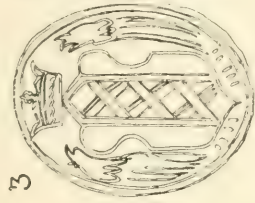
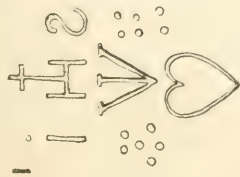
and a good example is before us. These arms are, on a field *gules*, three crosses saltier on a pale *sable*. But the most common device is, perhaps, the barbed Tudor rose, which we may assume to have been largely used on the jugs which were imported in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, from its being the badge of the Tudor dynasty. "Une rose de gueules" was also borne in the arms of the Margrave of Baden-Baden; and a rose occurs again, as in one of my roughly penned illustrations, charged on a shield ensigned with a crown, which is again surmounted by the royal orb and cross (emblematic of the cross planted upon earth), and thus typical of the submission of Christian monarchs to the Cross. An Elizabethan stove-tile in the British Museum bears this device; also a fragment of similar but later ware, with a smaller rose, perhaps made at Fulham.

Then another heraldic figure frequently encountered is the Dutch (*i.e.*, the *double*) fleur-de-lis, so called because the Dutch heralds thus depicted them. In the City Museum is an example bearing in relief the bicapitated eagle. This double-headed eagle with wings "displayed" is also of frequent employment in old German heraldry. It was the heraldic device of that ambitious fraternity, the Merchants of the Hanse and Almaine, who, we may safely conjecture, were the medium by which such large consignments of these useful wares entered the country. In the Crace Collection is a water-colour illustration of the old Steelyard in Upper Thames Street, showing this double-headed eagle carved in stone, and let into the wall on the Thames Street side.

An example, where the bird is *couronnée*, may be cited as having probably appertained to the household of a German prince. When the two heads of such an eagle were encircled with an annulet a more sovereign authority is signified than that possessed by other princes, who consequently displayed the eagle crowned only.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This symbolic, two-headed eagle is well known to have originated in the two heads of the Empire after it was divided into East and West. To this effect Nisbet, in his *Heraldry* (p. 345, vol. i), quotes Cardinal Bellarmine himself, from his book, *The Translation of the Empire*. Nisbet further remarks, "The latest writers say that the





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The "anchored" cross (32), or cross *recercelée*, is another device of religious origin, which occurs upon a Bellarmine found in the bed of the Walbrook, at Copthall Avenue. The extremities of the cross are curled like ram's horns, and its beautiful symbolism consists in their thus representing confiding strength in the Cross. The ram is a very ancient symbol of strength, and it is thus that it became the prize of the wrestler. This rude cross is also figured on the coins of the Anglo-Saxon period, recurring again in the arms of Anthony de Beck, Bishop of Durham, who led the van at the battle of Falkirk, 22 July 1298.

A lion rampant (1) is also frequently seen,—a frequency probably attributable, in the words of Nisbet, to its having been very anciently borne on the ensigns of the Princes and Counts of the Low Countries.

In conclusion, I would call attention to the cluster of rusty nails now upon the table, which were found in a Greybeard. Nails were formerly placed in an earthen vessel, and buried beneath the floor, near the hearth, to keep away the witches, and to afford protection from the "evil eye"; hence such vessels were called "witch-jugs" or "witch-bottles", and it is not uncommon to find the Greybeard used for this purpose. With the nails was a quantity of matted hair. The vessel was broken in fragments in falling to the ground when attempting to rest it on a table in its proper position.

Emperors of the East, long after the division of the Empire, were the first to carry it, when there were often two Emperors upon the throne, who had their effigies displayed together; and on the reverse, not two shields with one and the same figure, but one shield with two eagles, one above the other, their heads separate."

## ON A SAXON PICTURE IN AN EARLY MS. AT CAMBRIDGE.

BY J. PARK-HARRISON, ESQ., M.A.

(Read 4 Jan. 1893.)

DURING the summer Meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute at Cambridge, in September 1892, when visiting the Library of Corpus Christi College for the purpose of examining the illuminated Saxon MSS. in the Parker Collection, the Rev. J. R. Harmer (Librarian and Fellow of the College) showed me one of tenth century date, which in some respects equals in interest the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, preserved at Eaton Hall, and other illuminated MSS. of the same early period executed by Saxon artists at New Minster.

The MS. alluded to is a copy of Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne. It contains a frontispiece drawn on the first leaf of a quaternion, in which a king, believed by Mr. Harmer to be Ecgrith of Northumbria, is represented standing in an attitude of profound respect before St. Cuthbert at the entrance to a lofty church, intended, as I think will presently be shown, in all probability for the wooden building Bede records to have been erected at Lindisfarne by Finian "in the Scottish manner". The king holds with both his hands a small box, with an open lid, presumably containing some relic or jewel which he is offering to the Saint.<sup>1</sup>

The picture is surrounded with a border of twining stalks and foliage, suggesting at first sight a later date for the work than the tenth century. That it is really of that early date there would, however, appear to be no room for doubt; the proof consisting in the list of Arch-

<sup>1</sup> It should be mentioned that the print which illustrates this article is derived from a photograph obligingly taken by the Rev. C. A. E. Pollock, Fellow of C. C. C., and transferred to a block by the half-tone process. Portions of the twining pattern, photographically enlarged by Mr. Taunt of Oxford, appeared in the Supplement to Part II of *Archæologia Quærentis*, and the Plate itself in Part III, recently published by H. Frenche, Amen Corner, E.C.



FRONTISPIECE TO A MS. OF BEDE'S LIFE OF ST. CUTHBERT.

*In the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.*





bishops of Canterbury at the end of the Life, which, so far as the original entries are concerned, stops short with the name of Wulfhelm, who died in 923. The list is then continued from Odo in another hand, and by Archbishop Parker to his own time. Not only the Librarian of C. C. C., but Mr. Warner and Mr. W. de Gray Birch also accept this evidence; and the late Professor Westwood considered it to be sufficient. Canon Browne, too, has carefully examined the MS., and thinks that the picture might be even earlier: indeed, the border closely resembles original work at St. Sophia, Constantinople, no doubt derived from classical examples. Palæographers in general appear to have overlooked the value that attaches to the drawing.

The stringent injunction, however, of Archbishop Parker (still in force), that forbids, on pain of forfeiture, any examination of his MSS., excepting in the presence of two Fellows of the College, practically prevents all close research.

Whilst the work in the border is more minute, and in some respects of a more artistic character than the figure-drawing and the architecture in the miniature, the colour of the pigment used shows that it was executed about the same time, though probably not by the same hand. There is also reason to believe that it is a survival of the beautiful style of work for which, in the days of Alcuin, the North of England was celebrated, and that some time previous to the rise of the famed schools of painting at Winchester.

In the picture the King stands opposite to St. Cuthbert, in, or it may be in front of, a church conventionally drawn in the Saxon manner so as to show in one view the exterior, as well as a part of the interior of the building. On the dexter side there is a lofty Romanesque arch, clearly of stone, and supported on engaged shafts with moulded capitals, probably opening into an apse, the roof of which would not be visible. Adjoining this arch there is a building with an aisle, and a clerestory in which are four square windows. A very tall doorway, constructed with a horizontal head or lintel, indicating that it is formed of wood, occupies most of the space under a gable terminating with a fleuron. The ornament

has much the appearance of a fleur-de-lys, but is a well-known symbol, often surmounting Saxon crowns, and sometimes carved on pre-Norman cornices and capitals of pillars; as at Christ Church, Oxford, and on a small cap now preserved in the porch of Hyde Church, Winchester.<sup>1</sup>

The roof is covered with ornamental shingles or *tabulae*; and what is noticeable, as showing that the whole of this part of the church (for such all archæologists will admit it to be) is framed of wood, is the fact that the wall of the aisle is weather-tiled in the fashion still prevailing in many country districts; only in this case, doubtless, with oak shingles instead of tiles. Still more interesting, as another mark of timber construction, is the plinth or base, which it will be at once seen is of wood: seven overlapping planks, arranged in the mode termed "weather-boarding", are used to throw off rain-water from the foundations of the building.<sup>2</sup>

It has already been mentioned that a wooden cathedral was erected at Lindisfarne by St. Cuthbert's predecessor, Finian.<sup>3</sup> It would have been singularly appropriate then to introduce into the picture a drawing of the church which Cuthbert used during the brief term of his episcopate; and in all probability the building would have been left standing until burnt by the Danes in 793. It may be presumed, too, that King Egfrith, who is known to have had the greatest regard for St. Cuthbert, and all but forced the Saint to consent to become Bishop of Lindisfarne, would at once have commenced a stone church for his see: and a portion of it would most likely have been erected before his death.

Now foundation-walls of stone, of the Saxon period, have been ascertained by Mr. Hodges, of Hexham, to exist at Lindisfarne, at the east end of the Norman church,

<sup>1</sup> The ornament occurs also in St. Leonard's Church, Wallingford (*Journ. B. A. Association*, vol. xlvii), though an assertive critic pronounces the work there to be Norman; Saxon ornament being termed "Norman" because some has been met with in Kirkstall Abbey, which was founded in Norman times, though most probably erected by English or Anglo-British masons.

<sup>2</sup> A friend at first thought what I have called *weather-tiling* was small ashlar-work; but the lines clearly slope. Also stones of the Saxon period were much longer than they were high.

<sup>3</sup> P. 268.

now in ruins ; its apsal terminations having most probably been suggested by Archbishop Theodore, who is recorded to have consecrated Finian's cathedral ; as well as Cuthbert himself as Bishop some years afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

The identification of the King as Eggrith, which helps to localise the scene in the picture, seemed also sufficient. Another suggestion, however, has been made by the Rev. C. Plummer, Librarian and Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who found in a cartulary (the date of which, according to Mr. W. de Gray Birch, is 931) that, amongst other donations, including land, a Life of St. Cuthbert was given to his church by King Athelstan ; and so it was seen that the picture might represent the offering being made by him at St. Cuthbert's shrine.

Before, however, this is accepted as a more correct identification, it should be remembered that the shrine believed to be represented in the picture was at the time at Chester-le-Street, and not Durham, where in 931 there was no church, the new foundation dating at earliest from 950, whilst St. Cuthbert's remains were not translated until 995. Also the ecclesiastic who is depicted as about to receive the offering is, judging from the nimbus, St. Cuthbert himself.<sup>2</sup> It is very possible, however, that Athelstan presented this copy of the Life to the church at Chester-le-Street ; and the picture of King Eggrith may either have been an original one, or copied from an older book.

Perhaps there may be something in the costumes that will help experts to determine more closely the period when the picture was designed. It will be well, then, to describe the dresses ; and first, that of the King. He wears a tunic which reaches to the knee, and a short mantle or cloak, fastened at the right shoulder with a circular brooch, leaving his right arm free. His stockings are long, and would be gartered above the knees.

<sup>1</sup> "Sakird solely was he by Archbishop Theodore, archbishop of Douvre. Doure and Canntobury were calde a see commonly. King Eggrith he was rare."

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Plummer, who communicated the above information to *The Academy* last spring, was not aware of this. He mentions that Kemble thought the cartulary was a forgery, but considered that this would affect the grant of land alone.



The shoes seem to be made of some soft material, and well cover the instep.

The King's crown is a circlet with three upright stems surmounted with balls. The tunic is embroidered at the wrists, and also round the collar. His hair, beard, whiskers, and moustache are closely trimmed.

St. Cuthbert is represented as wearing an alb with sleeves gathered in at the wrists. His chasuble appears to be cut square round the neck, where there is a narrow border, continuing down the front. He is not represented as vested either with stole or fanon.<sup>1</sup> His face is clean-shaven, and the tonsure is apparently very ample. The shoes are in all respects like the King's.

The border round the picture is divided into eight panels by plain bands mitred at the corners, as often seen in the case of pilasters in early illuminated MSS. The pattern, which is different in each panel, is drawn with a free hand, and exhibits considerable variety of treatment. For example, the twining foliage in the lower sinister side is very minute, whilst the adjoining work in the border at the bottom of the picture is more regular and distinct; and the design includes a bird which, from the hooked beak and general appearance resembles a parrot, such as occurs in an illuminated Bible executed at Tours for the Emperor Lothair. The wings are spread out horizontally above its head, and the elaborate ornamentation is suggestive of coloured feathers. In the dexter panel there is a lion, closely resembling some in MSS. of the Carolingian period; and Mr. T. F. Micklethwaite has pointed out a clear likeness in the treatment of the lions on the tower-arch of St. Benet's Church, Cam-

<sup>1</sup> Bloxam, in his *Companion to Gothic Architecture* (p. 12), relates that the earliest representation of ecclesiastical vestments that he had met with occurs in the figure of St. Sextus on a manipule found with the relics of St. Cuthbert in the Cathedral of Durham, "made by order of Ælfred, Queen of Edward the Elder, who died in 916." St. Sextus wears the vestments in use in the beginning of the tenth century, viz., cassock, alb, stole, and chasuble; and the fanon hangs over the left wrist.

Pugin, in his *Glossary of Ornaments*, says the "term *manipulus* occurs first among the sacred vestments in the ninth century", and also that the stole is first seen on monuments of the same period. As is well known, it was originally the border of a civil garment. (*Op. cit.*, p. 156.)

bridge, to work of eighth century date. The only other zoomorphic ornament is in the upper panel on the dexter side, where there is another bird with a hooked beak of pronounced character, but with its wings folded, pecking at a bunch of grapes. In this panel there are examples of a stalk passing through short pipes, as in a MS. in the Bodleian Library of pre-Norman date, as well as on a capital in Oxford Cathedral. A Saxon baluster occurs in the lower panel on the same side.

Though the date of the Corpus Christi College copy of the Life cannot be later than c. 950, there appears to be no absolute certainty that it may not be earlier, notwithstanding the similarity which has been observed in the writing; for, with the exception of the dioceses into which Wessex, or rather Winchester, was divided in the time of Fritheston (930 in Archbishop Parker's catalogue) and Adfrid (933), other successions are not carried down lower than 830, as in the case of Ceolbercht; whilst the last Bishop of Rochester mentioned in the list is Beormod, 802 (Bishop Stubbs, 805). This might, perhaps, be accounted for by more intimate relations between Northumbria and Wessex at the time the lists were made. But there is also no name of any reigning king in England as late as 850; which cannot be so explained.

The list of Popes that stops with Adrian III (850) might be due to uncertainty as to the succession, owing to the series of usurpations and crimes that occurred at Rome after Adrian's decease.

In the Corpus Christi catalogue, in addition to the Life of St. Cuthbert, it is mentioned that the MS. (No. 183) contains "a letter" (or preface), by Venerable Bede, "addressed to Bishop Eadfrid, and a copy of the Life and Miracles of St. Cuthbert in Latin verse, and his hymns and prayers.' At the end there is the following: "Totus hic liber Latine scriptus est et literis Saxonibus."

## COPED STONES IN CORNWALL.

BY A. G. LANGDON, ESQ.

(Read 19th Nov. 1890.)

BEFORE describing the Cornish examples, it may be well to devote a short space to the general consideration of this particular class of monument. They are variously termed coped, hog-backed, or saddle-backed, and are the most uncommon of all sepulchral stones.

Of the examples in Great Britain by far the largest proportion (in number about thirty-five) have been discovered in England; eight have been found in Scotland, one in Orkney, and one in Wales; but at present none are known to exist in Ireland or the Isle of Man. With the exception of two in Kent, one in Sussex, and the three recently discovered in Wiltshire,<sup>1</sup> coped stones are not found below the Midland Counties, and are most common in the north of England. Their scarcity, therefore, in the south and west of England gives additional interest to the Cornish examples, since they form, as it were, a link between the Celtic west and the Celtic north.

One of the chief features which characterise the difference between many of these stones is the variety in their shapes. The most common are those known as "boat-shaped", *i.e.*, resembling a boat turned upside down. Others are wedge-shaped, and the later ones are like a shrine or reliquary. Another great distinction arises from the kind of ornament employed in their decoration. Some few have beasts sculptured upon them, while others have the coped portions of their surfaces finished in representation of the tile-covering of a roof, sometimes called "scale-ornament". My object, however, is not to treat the subject exhaustively, though a few general remarks,

<sup>1</sup> Particulars relating to the discovery of these monuments will be found in *The Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*; and a later paper (1893) in the same journal contains excellent illustrations and notes on the ornament by J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.(Scot.).

in order to distinguish the different varieties, will not be out of place.

With regard to the supposed origin and use of coped stones, the Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., Vicar of Aspatria, Cumberland, gives some most interesting particulars and illustrations in a paper on four of these monuments, read before the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Calverley kindly sent me a copy some time ago, in which he makes the following remarks in connection with monuments of this kind :—

“We know that various races in different parts of the world have constructed their graves on the model of their houses, the idea underlying this kind of burial being that the dead live in these places in exactly the same way as the living live in their own houses; hence chamber tombs are found in barrows or tumuli not only all over Europe, but very largely in the East. When, however, cremation was practised, a full-sized house was unnecessarily large, and models in pottery were sometimes used.

“Several hut-urns found in Germany are described by Dr. Birch, in his work on ancient pottery, as being distinctly Teutonic, and occurring in sepulchres of that period when bronze weapons were used, and before the predominance of Roman art. Similar hut-urns were discovered in Italy in 1817, in an ancient cemetery in the Commune of Marino (province of Rome). Some of these urns are models of circular huts, with square openings in the sides as doors, through which the ashes of the dead were introduced, and having imitations of thatched roofs. Some show the beams which support the roof, and the joists. One has six columns<sup>2</sup> on each side, adhering to the walls, and small windows projecting out of the thatched roof. The roof of one is ornamented with devices of a modified key-pattern. Some large urns of thick pottery, found with these hut-urns, are beautified with the same pattern, as well as with a series of svastikas enclosed in panels.”

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ix, art. xxxv, 1888.

<sup>2</sup> This is probably the same example as that illustrated in Major Serpa Pinto's work, and is referred to amongst the tombs of this kind by Mr. Herbert Spencer in his *Ecclesiastical Institutions*, p. 680.



Of the number of coped stones in England, Cornwall possesses four ; or, more correctly, two complete specimens, and portions of two others ; for the fragment in St. Buryan churchyard is but a very small part of the original monument, while a considerable piece is missing from that at Phillack. The two perfect examples in the churchyards of Lanivet and St. Tudy (distant from each other about nine miles) are in a fine state of preservation, and are good examples of the different periods to which they belong. They are, however, dissimilar in form, and the decoration of the one is entirely different from that on the other, inasmuch as in the finely executed example at Lanivet diagonal key-patterns predominate, the work on the St. Tudy stone consists of later and varied forms of debased ornament rudely carved.

Having thus briefly introduced the subject, I will now proceed to describe each of the Cornish examples.

#### IN LANIVET CHURCHYARD.

Lanivet, in the Deanery of Bodmin, is situated three miles south-west of the town of that name, and about three miles and a half from the Railway Station.

This monument will be found on the south side of the church, near the porch, and, like nearly all others in Cornwall, is made of granite. It was discovered in 1864, during the renovation of the church. The particulars relating thereto were given me by the man who found it. He stated that part of the work to the church consisted in fixing new rain-water pipes, and it was while digging a trench on the south side, to connect a branch from one of the down pipes to the main rain-water drain, that they found the stone lying right across the line of the trench. It was then beneath the surface, and being in the way was taken up and shifted a few feet east of what we may suppose was its original site.

It is a curious circumstance that nearly all of the finest monuments in Cornwall have been found either buried in the churchyards or built into the walls of the fabrics, and have only come to light during some of the many restorations or rebuildings which have taken place within the last few years.



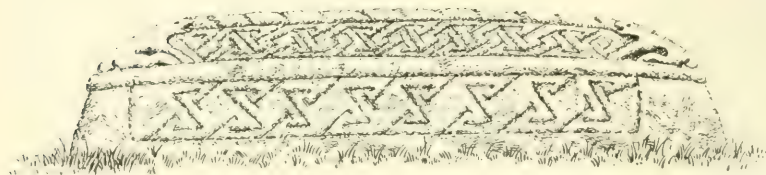
# Coped stone Lamivet.



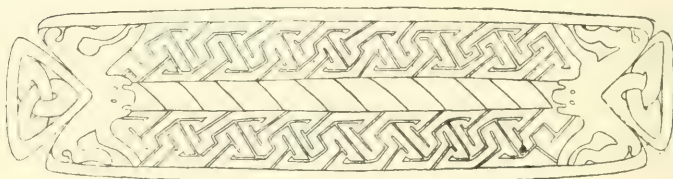
W



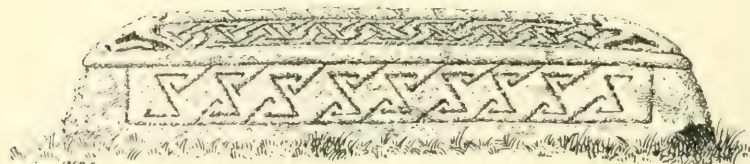
E



S



Developed plan of top  
[from the rubbing]



1860 B

N

Q. S. Anglin  
3 May 1881

Scale of 1 2 3 4 feet

The Lanivet stone belongs to the boat-shaped type, and has the somewhat uncommon feature of hipped ends. The lower portions of the sides, which are usually vertical, are here sloped inwards at the top, but considerably more so on one side than the other, and the pitch of the coped portion is steeper on the north than on the south side. None of the surfaces are flat, all being slightly convex; the same rule applying to the ridge-line, which is highest in the middle.

*Dimensions.*—Length, 7 ft. 7 in.; width in the middle, 2 ft.; height in the middle, 1 ft. 6 in.

The ridge is formed by a bold cable-moulding stopped against animals' heads; which latter resemble dogs in a sitting position, and are very curious. The clever manner of working them is clearly displayed in the bird's-eye view of the top, or developed plan, taken from the rubbing, a drawing of which is given, because, being on the flat, it shows the ornamentation much more distinctly than when it is of necessity projected, and therefore foreshortened, on the elevations. It will be seen from this plan that the heads and shoulders of the beasts are joined, though they show separately in the side-views, as do also the legs and tails, their backs forming the hips of the stone. Surrounding the bottom of the coped or upper portion of the monument—the corners of which are rounded—is a wide, flat bead. With the exception of the ends, where interlaced work is used, the rest of the stone is ornamented with diagonal key-patterns, the entire decoration being as follows :—

*West End.*—On the triangular slope is a large triquetra knot, and on the square end beneath are two double-beaded oval rings, placed crosswise and interlaced.

*South Side.*—The upper or sloped portion between the animals at the ends is filled with a very good diagonal key-pattern. On the lower portion is a single panel, enclosed on three sides by incised lines. It is also decorated with a diagonal key-pattern, but entirely different in design from that above. The principal feature of its composition consists in reversed figures resembling Z's, with T or L-shaped lines between them. Both of these patterns occur on a cross at Penally, South Wales, but I believe are not found elsewhere.



*East End.*—On the triangular slope is a triquetra knot rather smaller than that on the opposite end. The ornament on the square portion below is much mutilated, but from what remains it appears to be a knot similar to that in the corresponding position on the west end.

*North Side.*—This is similar in all respects to the south side, except that in the lower portion there is one more compartment (if it may be so termed) of the **Z's**, **L's**, and **T's**, in the panel; which is, however, of the same length as the other.

#### IN ST. TUDY CHURCHYARD.

St. Tudy, in the deanery of Bodmin, is situated seven miles north-west of Bodmin, and six miles south-west of Camelford Railway Station.

This stone, which is of surface-granite, now lies on the north side of the churchyard, near the chancel. For the greater part of the following particulars relating to its discovery I am indebted to the Rev. H. Lines, Curate of St. Tudy.

It appears that about the time when the restoration of St. Tudy Church was completed, in 1873, some workmen, while removing the rubbish, laid bare the top of the stone. No further examination seems to have been made until the spring of 1889, when the Rev. C. Bridgewater (Rector) had the whole of it uncovered. Further excavations beneath disclosed the remains of two small skeletons very much decayed, and one or two pieces of iron coffin-furniture, the latter being considered of no great antiquity. Having completed these investigations, the pit in which the stone had lain for so long a period was filled up to the present surface of the churchyard, and the stone was then carefully replaced over the exact spot, about 18 in. above its former level, so that the whole of it is now exposed.

It is a well-known fact that the ground of a churchyard is gradually raised in course of time, principally through the numerous interments which take place, and by accumulated worm-casts. This will probably account for the monument being so deeply embedded in the earth when discovered. It does not, however, appear likely that the place where the stone was found is its original



# Coped stone S-Tudy.



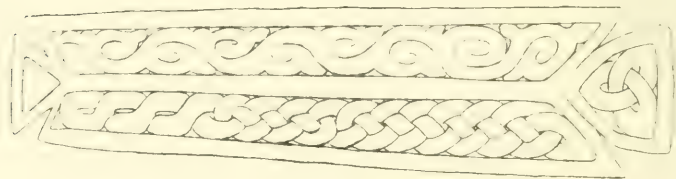
W



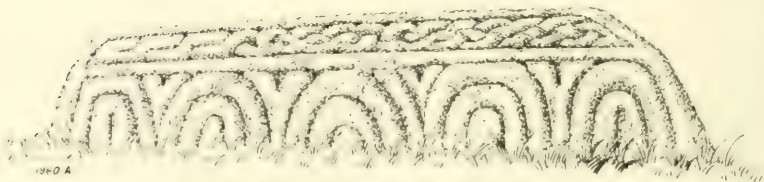
E



S



Developed plan of top  
[from the rubbing]



N

A. P. Langdon

19 June 1899

Scale 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Feet

site, as in all probability it lay nearer the church, and was moved northwards when the north chancel-aisle was added in the fifteenth century.

Unlike that at Lanivet, this example is wedge-shaped, a form much less common than that just described; indeed, it is the only one of this kind which I have met with. There is nothing like it in the illustrations contained in the books to which I have had opportunity of referring, since all those which are similar in general shape have gable-ends. Owing to the peculiarity of its form, the ridge is higher at the wider than at the narrower end, and is in this instance formed of a plain bead, widest in the middle. At the apex at either end, the bead divides, and slopes outwards towards the angles of the stone, running into and joining that which surrounds the coped portion. The panels on the upper part are also wider at one than at the other end, the decoration being artfully contrived to fill them.

*Dimensions.*—Length, 7 ft. 1 in.; width at the wide end,  $17\frac{1}{2}$  in.; at the narrow end, 14 in.; height at the wide end, 18 in.; at the narrow end,  $14\frac{1}{2}$  in.

The ornament upon it is as follows—

*West End.*—On the triangular slope is a bold triquetra knot, and the perpendicular space beneath is ornamented by two beads, one outside the other, so arranged that those at the sides are vertical, and those at the top horizontal, forming three sides of a rectangle, the corners of which are slightly rounded, and the ends of the beads simply run out at the bottom.

*South Side.*—On the upper or coped portion is a continuous panel of debased foliated scroll-work, of that particular kind so common on the sculptured Cornish crosses, instances of which will be found in the churchyards of Cardynham, Lanhydrock, Lanivet, Quethiock, and St. Teath, and also on those at Water Pit Down, Minster, and the “Four-holed Cross”, on Temple Moor, St. Neot. The lower portion is ornamented by very bold and rudely-executed arcading, formed by wide beads placed one beyond the other. There are six bays, varying more or less in size and shape. Between each, and springing from the bottom, is what appears to be the stalk of a plant, the rude foliage of which fills the



spandrils, a slight variation taking place in that between the fifth and sixth bays.

*East End.*—The triangular portion is here unornamented, the smallness of the space and nature of the material probably not admitting it. The square end beneath is ornamented in a manner similar to that on the corresponding end, but, owing to this portion of the stone being narrower, the beaded figure is proportionally elongated.

*North Side.*—On the sloped portion is an extremely interesting design. This commences at the narrow end with a square key-pattern, resembling a flat twist, exactly like those found on the crosses in Cardynham and Gulval churchyards, and on the cross-shaft on Water Pit Down, Minster. The ends of this twist are carried forward, and then combining with two other cords, form a piece of broken four-cord plait-work, for in the middle of the panel two of the cords are joined up, thus forming the break. On the lower portion is arcading similar to that on the opposite side, but altogether coarser in execution, and consists of five bays instead of six. This arcading is very irregular, each bay varying somewhat in form from the other. Only two complete stalks with foliage are here introduced—viz., between the second and third, and fourth and fifth bays. A mistake in this detail of the ornament seems to have occurred between the third and fourth bays, since the portion which should have formed the stalk follows the curved line of the adjoining bay up to the top, instead of being perpendicular. The small spandril thus resulting is filled with independent foliage, like that between the first and second bays where the stalk is omitted.

#### THE FRAGMENT IN ST. BURYAN CHURCHYARD.

St. Buryan, in the deanery of Penwith, is situated six miles south-west of Penzance.

Heaped against the southern side of the church tower is a miscellaneous collection of architectural fragments, consisting of pieces of tracery, bits of carved stones, fonts, etc., which formerly belonged to the church, and were, I believe, placed where they now are after its restoration. When examining these in June 1890, I was fortu-

nate enough to discover amongst them part of a coped stone, of which, after the removal of sufficient *débris*, I was enabled to take a rubbing and measurements.

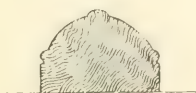
*Dimensions.*—Length, 2 ft. 7 in.; height, 11 in.; average width, 16 in.

It is somewhat difficult to determine which part of the original monument is represented by this mutilated remnant. Obviously it is not the middle, because it tapers in one direction only; neither is it one of the extremities, for both ends are ragged from fractures. If, however, we may judge by the length of the two ex-

Fragment of a coped stone at S. Buryan.



Developed plan of the top  
[from the rubbing]



Section



1760 C

E. Side



W. Side.

Scale of 12 9 6 3 0 1 2 3 4 feet

66 9 1  
C. 10 1  
31 May 9.

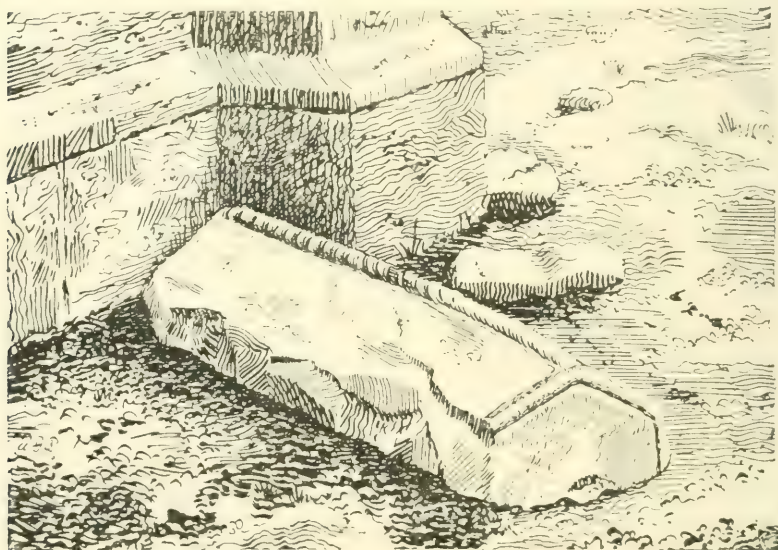
amples already described, it seems likely that this stone was broken into four pieces, and the portion now remaining was probably one of those next the centre. Apparently it also was boat-shaped, for the sides are convex. There are remains of the ridge-roll, and the horizontal beads at the bottom of the coped portion are quite plain. But of the ornament only a small piece of diagonal key-pattern is now distinguishable on one of the sloped sides, and is of similar design to that found on the Sancreed crosses. With regard to the opposite side, it is almost impossible to suggest what the orna-

ment on it may have been, though it seems probable, from the slight indications still remaining, that foliated work of some kind was used.

IN PHILLACK CHURCHYARD.

Phillack, or St. Felack, in the deanery of Penwith, is situated one mile north of Hayle Railway Station.

This portion of a coped stone is of a hard, coarse granite, and now lies in the churchyard, near the south side of the tower. From the length of other monuments of a similar type, it would seem that about one-third of the entire stone is missing, since only one end is intact, the other being unevenly fractured.



Once more I have to thank Canon Hockin, Rector of Phillack, for particulars regarding the discovery of yet another stone in this churchyard. Its eventual recovery was curious. It had been turned upside down, and used as the gate-stop of the porch, a hole being drilled, into which the end of the bolt dropped. When discovered in 1856, the Canon directed his mason to take especial care of it, which he did after a similar fashion to his predecessor (mason), viz., by again turning it upside down, and using it as one of the supports for a large

slate that covered over the entrance to the chamber containing the heating-apparatus. Finally, it was again rescued, and placed in the position already mentioned.

*Dimensions.*—Length along the ridge, 3 ft. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  in.; width at widest part of base, 1 ft. 5 in.

It is of the boat-shaped type, and has one gable-end remaining; the other, as already stated, is missing. A rude cable moulding runs along the ridge, and the angles of the gable are beaded. Beyond these simple enrichments no attempt to introduce ornament has been made. We thus have in this stone an example which is totally different from any of the foregoing.

The accompanying drawing is taken from a photograph kindly sent me by Canon Hockin.

Little now remains to be added by me concerning these stones, beyond some observations regarding their age. None of them are inscribed, and we are consequently without any particular form of letter which might guide us in determining their date by this means. The ornament, therefore, alone directs the judgment; and, by comparing it with examples of a similar kind on other monuments of which the age is placed beyond question, we may, I think, classify the Cornish monuments in the following order:—

The Lanivet stone ranks first, the Hiberno-Saxon character of its ornament placing it at the ninth or tenth century, to which date might also be assigned the fragment at St. Buryan.

The St. Tudy stone is no doubt the latest, for its debased scroll-work shows it to be probably not older than the eleventh or twelfth century, to which period the crosses already mentioned, and having similar ornament upon them, belong.

The Phillack stone, by (1) its shape, and (2) the absence of ornament, is the most difficult to deal with as regards age, since these characteristics are found on both very early and very late examples. Rather than commit myself by asserting to which of these periods it belongs, I will take shelter in the old saying that "Discretion is the better part of valour", and leave the question of date to the decision of others whose opinion is of more value than my own. Beyond observing that



it looks very old, I will only point out that whereas we have, in the case of the other three stones, some reasons for giving an approximate date, we are without such supporting evidence in the case of the Phillack stone.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that the illustrations accompanying this paper are, so far as I am aware, the only ones which have been made of these stones. To insure accuracy in reproduction, my rubbings of the ornament were all carefully photographed to the required scale.

I believe I am correct in stating that the foregoing includes all the coped stones which have been discovered in Cornwall up to the present time. Should any have been omitted, I shall be very much obliged for information regarding an overlooked or new-found example, either now or at some future time.

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## LEEDS CHURCH, KENT.

BY REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.

*(Read 15 Nov. 1893.)*

THE Parish Church of Leeds, though to the casual observer presenting little of interest, will well repay examination. Standing almost within the grounds of the old Priory, and wholly dependent on the Canons for its services, it was yet distinct from the monastic buildings; dedicated to St. Nicholas alone, and not, like the Priory, to the Virgin Mary and that popular Saint. Its existence, too, was anterior to the Priory, although both Tanner and Dugdale, on the authority of the old monk and chronicler of Canterbury, William Thorn, have assigned the year 1137 (eighteen years later than the date of the Priory) as the “Fundatio Ecclesie de Ledes”. It is evident that this “Fundatio” by the two Crevequers must refer to the endowment, *i.e.*, providing *funds* for it, rather than the actual building; for it is recorded in *Domesday* that then—say in 1086—the manor had a church.<sup>1</sup> The existence of such an earlier one, and of this forming part of it, was confirmed by a highly interesting discovery made during repairs so recently as the year 1879. At a considerable elevation on the north wall of the nave, the removal of successive layers of plaster and whitewash brought to light a row

<sup>1</sup> “Adelold tenet de Episcopo Esledes. pro iii solins se defendit : Terra est xii carucarum : in dominio sunt ii carucæ : Et xxviii Villani cum viii Bordariis habent vii carucas : Ibi Ecclesia : Et xviii Servi : Ibi ii arpendi vineæ : Et viii acræ prati : Silva xx porcorum : et v molini Villanorum : T. R. E. valebat xvi libras : similiter quando recepit : modo xx libras : et tamen reddit xxv libras. Levvinus (Comes) tenuit”, etc.

Adelold holds of the Bishop Esledes. It answers for three sulings : there is arable land of 12 teams : in demesne there are 2 teams, and 28 Villani with 8 Bordarii have 7 teams : There is a church there : and 18 Servi : 2 arpendis of vineyard : and 8 acres of meadow : wood of [for] 20 hogs : and 5 mills of the Villani : In the time of King Edward it was worth £16 : likewise when he received it : now £20 : and yet it renders £25. [Earl] Lewin held it, etc. (Larking’s Extension and Translation.)

of clerestory windows of distinctly Saxon character,<sup>1</sup> splayed both inwards and outwards, with a groove in the middle of the wall for the primitive shutter, which would be open by day and closed at night: fragments of the woodwork still remain in the wall. Unfortunately, the inner splays on the nave side have been closed up, but those on the other side, in the north aisle, are still visible. At the same time a row of eight earthen jars, placed at equal distances, was found<sup>2</sup> built into this wall above the old Saxon clerestory, placed there probably for acoustic purposes. These were much broken in the act of removal, but the most perfect of them has been preserved, and may be seen in the Maidstone Museum.

The area of the original Saxon church must have corresponded nearly with the present nave, only being a little shorter, the foundation of the old east wall being found crossing the nave some distance to the west of the chancel-step, when the floor was taken up to lay the pipes for heating.

Many other were the changes which this church has experienced before attaining its present proportions.

The Norman arch at the west end, so unusually lofty, with its plain angular mouldings of tufa, indicates the addition made by the Crevequers in the twelfth century; when, too, it has been suggested that probably the old solid Saxon walls were cut through and a Norman arcade introduced on either side, leaving the traces of the Saxon clerestory above. In the next century the church was widened, a side aisle was thrown out on the north, not with a separate roof, but with that of the nave brought down to cover it.

Then, too, the massive, deeply-buttressed tower must have been raised, as the small, narrow lancet windows—two on the west face and one on the north—indicate; while a similar one appears on the west end of the north aisle, and traces of a row of three may be detected on its outer wall. The tower, now so dwarfed in appearance, evidently once had a steeple, much loftier and more graceful than the present stunted capping tower.

<sup>1</sup> For these details the writer is indebted to W. H. Purday, Esq.

<sup>2</sup> An account of their discovery is given in *Arch. Cantiana*, xii, 432.



LEEDS CHURCH, KENT.





This steeple, as well as much of the church, must have fallen into disrepair before the end of the fifteenth century, for, while several wills of that period refer to "werkes" going on in the church, towards which bequests were made, that of John Brandon, dated 1492, leaves a considerable sum specially "for the reparacon of the steeple".

The next change in the nave would have taken place when, early in the fourteenth century, the advancing spirit of architecture required lighter piers and wider arches: then any Norman work, if it existed, would have to give place to the more graceful lofty arcade, springing from fluted octagonal pillars, of the Decorated period, which gives so bright and airy a character to the church. Towards the close of that century, as the window and the plinth would suggest, the north chapel must have been added; while that on the south side<sup>1</sup> would claim an earlier date, possibly of the preceding century. Each of them is connected to the chancel by a three-light opening within the altar-rails, resembling those which in some churches connected a lepers' aisle with the chancel.

The windows in the aisles belong to the Decorated period, some apparently contemporary with the arches of the nave; while those of the east end of the chancel and of the south chapel, whatever they once were, are now among the poorest specimens of ecclesiastical art which the Jacobean period produced. Each of the chantry chapels retains its piscina, that of the south being a fine specimen of Early Decorated, and well preserved. That in the chancel is very graceful, projecting from the wall, and supported by a light shaft. The one in the north chapel is much plainer, and somewhat mutilated. The chancel has on the south side a sedile consisting of three seats on one level.

There is, however, another feature of this church

<sup>1</sup> Under this south chapel is a vault in which some members of the Meredith family were buried. It is reputed that Sir William purchased it of the Woolletts, who had at an earlier time been an important family in the parish. In the east wall of the chapel is a low, debased arch composed of tufa, apparently forming part of the original structure, which led to this vault.

which demands special notice, the Screen, which, among Kentish screens, stands perhaps only second—if, indeed, second—to the well-known one in Eastchurch in the Isle of Sheppey. The screen consists of eleven bays of equal width, each bay representing a four-light window filled in with mullions and tracery of the middle or later portion of the fourteenth century. It spans the entire width of the church, side-aisles as well as nave, with three doorways, the central one leading into the chancel, and one on either side into the chapels. From the intermediate pillars spring groins supporting a light, elegant canopy, presenting an unbroken front of richly-decorated carved work. Of the loft itself, which filled the chancel-arch, nothing is left. In the south wall are the jambs of the entrance doorway into the staircase which ran up in the depth of the wall to a door (now blocked up and plastered over), by which access was gained to the rood-loft. Either the original order of Henry VIII in 1547, or the subsequent still more stringent one of Archbishop Grindal in 1576, swept it away, with all its appendages.<sup>1</sup> The screen itself had fallen into a sad state of disrepair; all trace of colour, if there had been any, was lost. But, happily, sufficient of the outlines of the tracery had been preserved to admit of restoration. This, so far as the central portion is concerned, has been most ably and conscientiously carried out by Mr. W. Bliss Sanders of London;<sup>2</sup> and nothing but want of funds prevents the similar completion of the entire length of the screen, which it is hoped, considering its rare beauty, will soon be efficiently accomplished.

*Monuments.*—Of the monuments now remaining none date back earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the centre aisle are two brasses, one representing a merchant and his wife, with three children.

<sup>1</sup> The following extract is from the Chronicles of the Grey Friars of London: "Item the xvii day of the monythe" (November 1547) "was pullyd downe thorow alle the Kynges domynion, in everye Churche, alle Roddes with alle images", etc.

Articles of Inquiry issued by Archbishop Grindal, 1576: "Whether your Roodlofts be taken down and altered, so that the upper part thereof, with the sollar or loft, be quite taken down unto the cross-beam, and that the said beam have some convenient crest put upon it."

<sup>2</sup> To whom the author is indebted for an excellent sketch and much information.

He is dressed in a plain suit of broad-cloth fringed with fur, and she in the equally sober garb of that day. At their feet runs the following inscription :

“Orate pro animabus Willielmi Merden et Alicia uxoris ejus; qui quidem Willielmus obiit primo die Augusti anno JHU MCCCC nono: quorum animabus propicietur Deus.”

The other brass is that of a single female figure, to the memory of a member of the once influential and liberal family of the Lambes, as the inscription shows, which runs thus :

“Orate pro anima Katerine Lambe filie Roberti Lambe de Ledes, que obiit xvi die Augusti A. D'ni MCCCCXIII. Cujus anime propicietur Deus.”

Among the Add. MSS. in the British Museum (No. 32,366, p. 199) is a note that on the floor of the north aisle was once a gravestone with this inscription, now lost:

“Here lyeth the body of John Mills of Ledes, who dyed Anno Dom. 1593.”

There are also several gravestones of the Sexby family, between the years 1657 and 1771, and of the Crispes from 1620 to 1696.

Under the Communion-Table, lying north and south, is an incised gravestone, which forms the single connecting link among the monuments between Leeds Castle and the Parish Church. It is to the memory of a son of the Sir Richard Smith who had bought the Castle from Sir Warham St. Leger in the reign of Elizabeth :

“Here lyes the Body of Sir John Smith, late of Leedes Castle, Kt., on assured hope of a joyfull resurrection, who was the sonne and heire of Sir Richard Smith<sup>1</sup> of Leedes Castle, Kt., and married Mary Francklin, daughter of Sir Richard Francklin of Willesden in the County of Middl’x, Esq., and dyed without issue y<sup>e</sup> 20th day of May 1632, aged 40.”

At the head of the inscription is a shield bearing, (*azure*) a chevron engrailed between three lions passant

<sup>1</sup> This Sir Richard Smith is said, in Burke’s *Enclopædia of Heraldry*, to have been the third son of Thomas Smyth, Esq., of Ostenhanger, one of the “farmers of the Customs”, or “Queen’s Customers”, of the Port of London.



(*or*) for Smythe of Ostenhanger; impaling (*argent*) on a bend (*azure*) three dolphins (of the first) for Francklin.

Mention has been made of Sir Warham St. Leger as having sold the Castle and manor of Leeds to Sir Thomas Smith. The St. Leger family held the Castle for only two generations, it having been granted by Edward VI, in 1550, to Sir Anthony, whose son, Sir Warham, sold it to Sir Thomas Smith. They do not seem to have in any way identified themselves with this lordly property. The Church Registers of Bromfield, in which parish the Castle really lies, contain some entries of baptisms of the family, but their silence as to burials, and the absence of any monuments to members of the family, in either church, lead to the inference that their dead were all carried back to the old ancestral vaults at Ulcombe, from whence the family came. And no wonder that they, though representing the younger branch of this distinguished family, should desire to be "gathered to their fathers", when among those fathers had been Guy, a companion of the Conqueror; Radulphus, who fought with Richard at Acre; his three sons, Ralph, John, and Thomas, knighted by Edward I for their chivalry at Carlaverock; a *Radulphus de Sancte Leodegario*, summoned to Parliament by Edward III in 1344; his son, Sir Arnaldus, in 1376; and several after; five or six, too, Sheriffs of the county. With such hereditary attractions it was but natural that Sir Anthony,<sup>1</sup> who had been created Knight of the Garter in 1544, twice Deputy for Ireland under Henry VIII,

<sup>1</sup> The distinguished career of Sir Anthony St. Leger is recorded thus fully on his monument in Ulcombe Church: "Sir Anthony Sentliger, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Garter, Gentleman of the Privie Chamber, and Employed in Most Honourable Offices under the Most Renowned Henry the Eight And Edward the Sixt, Kinges, Twice Lord Deputy of Ireland: By whose meanes, in His First Government, the Nobilitie and Commons there were induced By General and Free Consent to Geve Unto Henri the Eight, King of England, in that Province, Allso Regalia, Jura, The Title and Scepter of King To Him And His Posteritie For Ever; whose Prædecessors Before were Intitled only Lordes of Ireland.

"This Grave Councillour, After This Course of Life Spent in the Service of Thaes (*sic*) Two Rare and Redoubted Kinges, Having Endured Nevertheless some crosses in the Tyme of Queene Mary, And yet Living to see the Fœlicious Raigne of Our Present Peerelesse Queene Elizabeth,

"Departed Anno Salutis 1559, Aged 63 Yeares."

and Privy Councillor under Elizabeth, should regard himself not unworthy of a place beside such worthy forefathers, and while proud to own the lordship of Leeds Castle and its Abbey lands during life, should yet claim a resting place after death in the ancestral vault at Ulcombe.

It was not so with the Merediths,<sup>1</sup> who, after a brief tenure of the Colepeppers of Hollingborne and the Coverts of Boxley, succeeded the St. Legers in the possession of Leeds Abbey. Their original home had been in the distant hills of Wales : first in Radnorshire, from whence a younger son, marrying a Denby heiress, settled at Stasley in that county, and his grandson was the purchaser of Leeds Abbey, where William Covert had, out of the ruins of the old Priory, built for himself a goodly residence. Here the family lived for four generations, until it died out. The successive owners left behind them, in costly monuments, a perfect genealogy of their family during the seventeenth and half the eighteenth centuries. These monuments begin with the wife of the first Sir William Meredith, who was the purchaser of the Abbey estate. He was succeeded by his son, also Sir William, who was created a Baronet in 1622. The next generation is represented by his son, Sir Richard, who married the daughter of Major-General Philip Skippon,

<sup>1</sup> For the following footnote, showing the earlier generations of the Meredith family, the writer is indebted to General Meredith Read, a descendant of the family through a female line. The line of Meredith of Leeds Abbey runs thus :

David ap Meredith ap David of county Radnor

Meredith ap David ap Meredith

Rowland ap David ap Meredith married Elisabeth, daughter of Brereton of Bersham, county Denbigh, and removed thither

His son, John Meredith, married Catherine, daughter of John ap Yolin of Alington, county Denbigh, where they both resided. Their children were :

First, John Meredith, who married a daughter of William Mouley

Second, Richard Meredith, who married Jane, daughter and heir of Morgan ap David ap Robert ap Jenkin, etc., Edwin de Englefield. They had two children. The second son, Hugh Meredith of Wrexham (Pentrebichan, county Denbigh), was ancestor of the Merediths of Pentrebichan ; while the eldest son, Sir William Meredith of Stainsley (the inscription says "Stansty"), county Denbigh, was knighted on the 23rd July 1603, having previously purchased Leeds Abbey in Kent.

the Parliamentary Commissioner of 1642. Their sons, Sirs William and Richard, succeeded to the title, but died unmarried, as also did the next brother, Thomas. Henry, the fourth son, married Mary, the daughter and heiress of William Atwood of Hackney, Middlesex, and left an only daughter, Susannah. The title then descended to Sir Roger, the fifth son, who, leaving no issue, bequeathed the Leeds Abbey estate to his niece (his brother Henry's daughter), who, living here till her death in 1759, proved a most liberal benefactress to the parish and church of Bromfield as well as Leeds. With her ceased the connection of the Merediths with Leeds Abbey.

On the north wall, formerly in the east end, where it blocked up the east window of the north chapel, is a massive marble monument with the following inscription:

"Here lyeth interred the Body of y<sup>e</sup> Rt. Hon'ble Jane, Countess Dowager of Carberry, daughter to y<sup>e</sup> Rt. Hon'ble Sir Thomas Palmer of Wingham in this County, Kt. & Baronet, who was first married to Sir William Meredith of Stansty in the County of Denby, Kt., Treasurer at Warr in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James, for y<sup>e</sup> Cautionary Towns and Forces in y<sup>e</sup> Netherlands. In wh. Office he continued till his death.

"After whose decease she married to y<sup>e</sup> Rt. Hon'ble John Earl of Carberry, whom she also survived.

"By her first husband she had issue two sons, Tho's and Wm. (Tho' died young): of W'm this marble doth make further mention: and two daughters, Ann and Jane. Ann was first married to Sir Robert Brett, of Malling in this County, Kt., and after his decease to y<sup>e</sup> Rt. Honble. Francis, Lord Cottington, Baron of Hanworth, Master of the Court of Wards, Chancellor of the Exchequer, & Privy Councillor. Jane, her 2nd daughter, was married to Sir Peter Wyche, Kt., who was 11 years Ambassador in Turkey, and on his return Comptroller to the Household of King Charles y<sup>e</sup> first, and one of His Majesties Privy Councill: in wh. high office and equal dignity he died at Oxford.

"Afterwards she was married to Sir John Merriek of London, Kt. These were her immediate issue, to whom she taught the necessity of death by her owne: in Nov. 1643, aged above 80 years."

Above the inscription are the arms in a widow's lozenge: *or*, a lion rampant *gules* (for Meredith), impaling *or*, two bars *gules*, each charged with three trefoils slipped of the first; in chief a greyhound courant, *sable* (for Palmer), between two lions rampant, supporters; the dexter, per

fess *argent* and *sable*; the sinister, *gules*, collared *or*; and an earl's coronet above. The whole is surmounted by a richly ornamented entablature resting on two marble pillars, having above the dexter one the arms of Meredith, and above the sinister those of Palmer, as on the lozenge below; while on a scroll at the foot is the Meredith motto, "Dyw a Dygon."

On the base of the monument to Lady Carbery is the following:

"Here lyeth also the Body of the Hon'ble Sir W. Meredith, late of this Parish, Baronet, son of the above mentioned Sir W'm Meredith and Jane his wife. He married first Susanna, y<sup>e</sup> daughter of Francis Barker of London, Esq., by whom he had 6 sons and 6 daughters. She dyed Feb. 21, 1654, and lyes interrd in this place. After whose death he married Mary, daughter of Henry Goring of Hydown in the County of Sussex, Esq., and relict of Thomas Aynscombe of Mayfeild in the same County, Esq. He died the 10th of April 1675, in the 72nd year of his age, full of days and hono'r."

On the dexter side of this lower inscription are the arms of Meredith with different tinctures,—*azure*, a lion rampant *or*; in the dexter chief, the badge of Ulster; impaling, *argent*, three bears' heads erased, *gules*, muzzled *or*; in chief, three torteaux, for Barker of Newbury. On sinister side, Meredith as before, impaling, *or*, a chevron between three annulets *gules*, for Goring.

On the north wall of the chapel is a monument to his son Henry, with a shield bearing quarterly, 1 and 4, the arms of Meredith; 2 and 3, *argent*, on a fess raguly *azure*, three fleurs-de-lis *or*, those of Atwood; with the following inscriptions below:<sup>1</sup>

"Near this place lies interred the Body of Henry Meredith, Esq., fifth son of Sir Richard Meredith, Baronet, and of Dame Susanna his wife. He married the only daughter of Walter Atwood, Gent., and Merchant of London, and Anna his wife. He died Jan. 18th, anno Dom. 1710, ætatis suæ 39."

"Here also, in hopes of a blessed Resurrection, are deposited the remains of Mrs. Susanna Meredith, of Leeds Abbey in the County of Kent, daughter and sole heiress of the abovesaid Henry Meredith, Esq. (and niece to Sir Roger Meredith, Baronet, deceased, of this County), who, out of pious regard to the memory of her dear

<sup>1</sup> The same inscription occurs on a gravestone at the west end of the nave.



Father, directed at her decease this monument to be raised. She departed this life on the third day of February 1758, in the 46th year of her age, leaving to them who survive her this useful lesson, that to do good in an ample fortune, and to bequeath a pious example to future ages, is the truest praise."

One more monument of the Meredith family remains to be noticed. It is that of the Sir Roger already mentioned in the previous one. It is on the south wall of the south chapel, and has the following inscription :

"In a vault under this place lieth deposited the body of Sir Roger Meredith, son of Sir Richard Meredith, Baronet, and grandson of Sir William Meredith, Baronet, of both whom mention is made in a monument in the other chancel. This Sir Richard Meredith married Maria Gott, widow of Samuel Gott, Esq., of this county, and daughter of Francis Tyssen, Esq., of Hackney, in the county of Middlesex, by whom he left no issue.

"Sir Roger Meredith was sixth and last son of Sir Richard Meredith. He survived all his brothers and sisters, and departed this life December 31st, 1738, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. It is hoped he did not live altogether without credit, and desired might be subjoined at the foot of this monument,

‘sepulchri  
Mitte supervacuus honores.’

"In the same vault is also deposited the body of Dame Maria Meredith, widow and relict of the said Sir Roger Meredith, Baronet, who departed this life April 26th, 1742, in the forty-third year of her age."

On the monument is the shield,—*azure*, a lion rampant *or* (for Meredith), impaling *or*, on a chevron *azure* between three French marigolds, slipped proper, two lions respecting each other, of the first (for Tyssen).

On a gravestone formerly in the chancel, and now in the north aisle,—

"Here lieth the Remains of Jane, wife of the Rev. Thomas Lomas, Curate of this Parish, and daughter of the Rev. R. G. Ayerst, M.A., Rector of Speldhurst in this County, who departed this life Sept. 25, 1812, aged 52 years.

"Here lieth also the Remains of the said Thomas Lomas, a native of Saltersford in Rainow in the County of Chester, the youngest son of Mr. Edward Lomas of Green Booths in Salters-

ford. The said Thomas Lomas departed this life on the 6th day of Nov. 1843, aged 83 years: having been 29 years Perpetual Curate of Leeds with Bromfield."

On a gravestone placed north and south in the cross-aisle is the following :

"In memoriam sacrum Stephani Odierne prognati Bethersden, Generosi, viri pietate, integritateque vere amabilis, nuper defuncti Leeds: qui damnum suis, dolor omnibus, obiit 9 Maii Anno Domini 1644. *Ætatis sue* 81."

From various wills preserved in the Consistory and Archdeacon's Courts at Canterbury, it appears that though the Parish Church was dedicated, not like the Priory, to the Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas, but to St. Nicholas only, the Virgin had her own Chapel (probably that on the south), and that of St. Katherine in the north Chapel, and that it, with the high altar, was always remembered for an offering. There were also images, in different parts of the church, to SS. James, John Baptist, and Christopher, to which lights were bequeathed.

The will of John Forde, bearing date 1446, furnishes an illustration of the minute details with which wills at that time were encumbered. After remembering the several altars and images of the Parish Church, and all his godchildren ("*omnes meos filiolos et filiolas*"), also William Fox ("*clericum eccleie*"), who was evidently attached to the Parish church, he bequeaths to his wife Matilda "*duas vaccas, decem oves, et duos parvos bovidos*" (two milch cows, ten sheep, and two little calves), "*lectum plumarium*" (a feather bed), "*dimidium duodecim coeliariorum argenti*" (half a dozen silver spoons), "*unam zonam ornatam de blodio argenti*" (one girdle of silver adorned with blodium), "*unam parvam zonam serici rubii argento ornatam*" (one small girdle of red silk with silver ornaments), "*unum gallum et undecim capones et gallinas*" (one cock and eleven hens and pullets), "*duas & dimidium virgas panni blodii*" (two ells and a half of blue cloth), "*duas virgas panni lanei albi*" (two ells of white woollen cloth), "*et unam pelvem & lavatorem*" (one bason and ewer).

In the east wall of the south chapel is a tablet, the interest of which consists in its forming the connecting link

between the church and the extinct Priory. The inscription tells its own tale :

"This Monastery was founded An. 1119, by Robert de Crepito Corde (in French, Creveceur ; *Anglicè*, Creutor) for Canons Regular, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Nicholas. Divers of the name and family of Creveceur were benefactors, granting to them divers revenues and liberties, that the Canons here should have the custody of their house and goods in the time of vacation, without any impediment of them, the Patrons, or their heirs ; and that upon the death of their Prior they might freely proceed to the election of another without leave-asking : however, after election the new Prior must be presented to the Patron according to custom. Confirmed by Charter, by King Edward III, in the 41st year of his reign."

In the right-hand corner of the tablet is the following :  
 "This was brought from Leeds Abbey that was taken down in 1790."

*The Bells.*—Considering the smallness of the village, the church is exceptionally rich in its bells. The tenor bell, the oldest of the ten, bears the date of 1617, with an inscription which tells that it was placed here in memory of John Lambe, a member of the old, respected Leeds family ; a relative, no doubt, of the William Lambe whose name is preserved in honoured memory as the founder of the Grammar School and Alms-Houses in the adjoining parish of Sutton Valence. The inscription runs thus :

"1617. HONORI DEI VNSVI ÆGETLE" (probably meant for USUI ECCLESLE) "MEMORIE JOHANNIS LAMBE. XPOFER WOLLET<sup>1</sup> C.W. JOSEPHUS HATCH<sup>2</sup> ME FECIT 1617."

The next bell, No. 9, has a shorter inscription,—

"HONORI DEI VSVI ECCLESLE. JOHN WILNAR.<sup>3</sup> 1638."

The next two, Nos. 8 and 7, have only the name of Wilnar, and the same date.

<sup>1</sup> As orthography was not held of much account in those days, it is more than probable that the Christopher Wollett here mentioned, and the William Wollett in the inscription on bell No. 6, were of the old Leeds family of Woollett, to which the eminent engraver belonged.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Hatch had his foundry in the next parish of Ulcombe from 1602 to 1639, from which he supplied one hundred and fifty-five bells in this county. (*Stahlschmidt's Bells of Kent.*)

<sup>3</sup> John Wilnar's foundry was at Borden. (*Ibid.*)

No. 6 bears the names of the two churchwardens and the founder :

“WILLIAM WOLLETT<sup>1</sup>: ROBERT HATCH . C . WARDENS . RT. CATLIN<sup>2</sup>  
FECIT 1751.”

On No. 5 :

“HEN. MEREDITH, ESQ., OF LEEDS ABBY, BENEFACTOR, RT. CATLIN<sup>2</sup>  
1751.”

The four smaller bells, from the same foundry, and the same year, were

“THE GIFT OF THE HON. ROBERT FAIRFAX OF LEEDS CASTLE.”

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Catlin's foundry was in Holborn. (*Ibid.*)



## DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN HYPOCAUST AT CHESTER.

BY FRANK H. WILLIAMS, ESQ.

THE following paper represents, in a condensed form, the notes which I had the pleasure of submitting to the Association, on some remains of a hypocaust brought to light in March 1892, during alterations which involved a rear-extension of the premises of Messrs. Walker and Knight, spirit merchants, on the east side of Northgate Street.

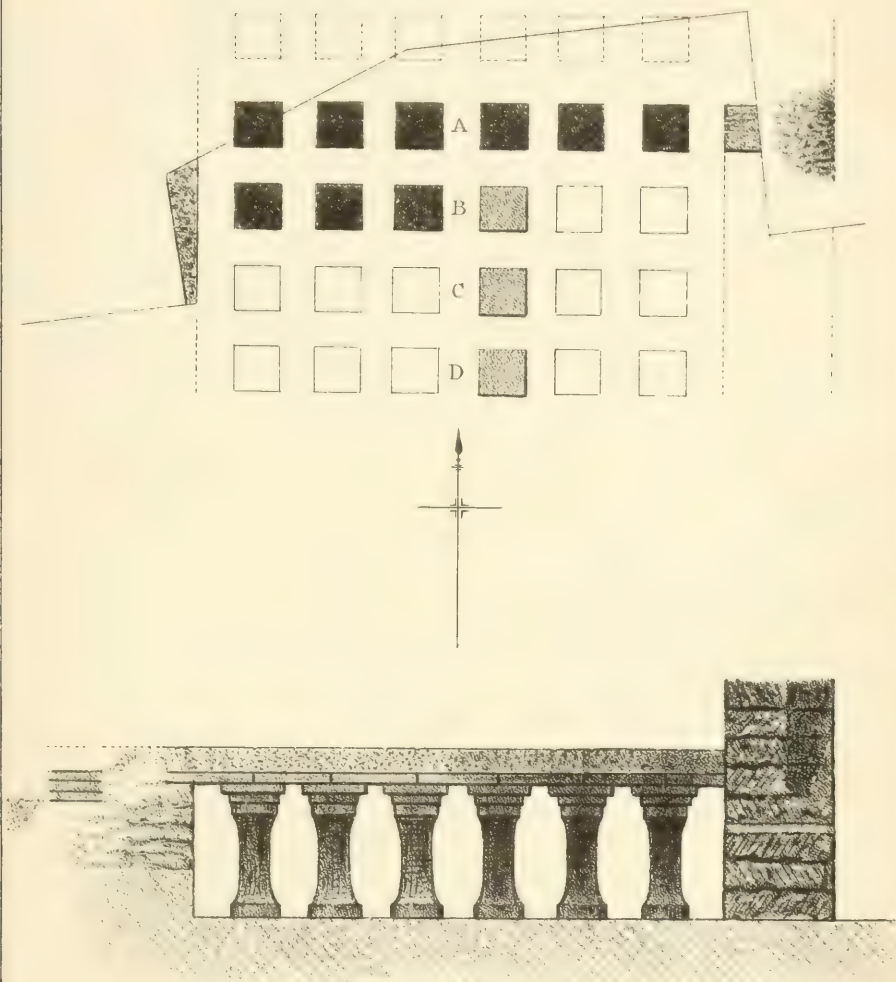
My knowledge of the excavation was accidental, and due to seeing the out-turned soil placed for removal in the street. On inquiry, the foreman informed me that the halves of seven pillars (from his description evidently those of a hypocaust) had been unearthed at the north-west angle of the ground. These, which were broken near the centre of their length, were found with the perfect extremities upwards, the fractured ends resting upon or within a short distance of the rock. Their disposition I account for by supposing them to have been the improvised supports of a mediæval floor.<sup>1</sup>

A few days later a still more interesting find was made, viz., the portion of a building with the pillars *in situ*, and from which those just mentioned had, doubtless, been procured.

It may be sufficient to observe, without giving an extended plan of the site, that on the north these premises are separated from those of Mrs. Evans, draper, by a slightly raised passage<sup>2</sup> leading to St. Werburgh Street, beneath which, and 100 ft. from the channel of Northgate Street parapet, is situated the inner face of the west wall

<sup>1</sup> Five have been preserved: two belong to Mrs. Sykes, the other three to Ald. Geo. Dutton. The latter, which are lower halves, I saw. One measured 2 ft. in height; base, 1 ft. 9 in. square, and 9 in. square at its fractured end. The remaining two were rather shorter, and their other dimensions also slightly less.

<sup>2</sup> Known to the older citizens as "Crump's Entry", the proprietor of an adjacent light-cake establishment having borne that name.



# HYPOCAUST

found at CHESTER in March  
1892.





of the hypocaust, for the lower part of which the natural rock has been utilised.

The east wall, 11 ft. distant, is of masonry, 2 ft. 4 in. in width at its front section, with a bonding-course of thick tiles at about 2 ft. from the base. The other dimensions (probably the length of the hypocaust) cannot be determined. The southern continuation of the east and west walls had been removed before I had an opportunity of seeing them. Their extent in this direction is not, however, exaggerated by the lines given in my plan.

It is much to be regretted that the conditions under which the work of excavation proceeded, removed the possibility of a systematic examination of the adjacent ground. In order to get the line of the north wall of the new building, the dividing or south wall of the passage had to be taken down, and the mass of friable soil beneath the flagged pathway impended, threatening falls, which afterwards took place over the hypocaust.

The section disclosed one and a half rows of pillars, six in rank. That there had been at least two more lines south of these, I have the data, derived from the workmen, that certain pillars (*vide* the shaded squares, c, d, and e) were there removed,<sup>1</sup> and some faint indications in the levelled ground of parts of the east and west walls just destroyed.

A deposit of black soil, caused by the infiltrating of a defective drain, had accumulated, filling the whole of the hypocaust, and even the partial removal of this was attended with difficulty on account of the instability of the overlying ground. The soil between the pillars was then probed by means of a rod, but without any definite result. To this, however, I shall again refer.

The *pilæ* are of a form which appear to have been almost universally adopted by the Roman builders in *Devā*, each consisting of a four-sided block of the ordinary sandstone of the district, square in vertical section, and between those portions left as base and cap, roughly reduced into the form of a connecting shaft.

<sup>1</sup> These pillars I was shown : one (v) measured 2 ft. 4 in. in height ; base,  $11\frac{3}{4}$  by  $12\frac{3}{4}$  in. ; cap, 11 in. square, to which was adhering a tile of about the same area, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick. Probably no two of the pillars are precisely alike in form or size.



After the earth was removed from above and around the pillars, it was clear that the differing spaces between them, and irregularities in their linear arrangement, were original defects, and not caused by the slipping of the broken stratum of concrete above: at least, any departure from the vertical could only have been slight, the pillars resting on the rock itself.

If the accompanying plan were compared with the actual remains, it would be seen that I have given a diagrammatic rendering of them; and this, because what I believe to have been the *intention* of their builder could not well be otherwise shown. I refer to the tile-scheme of the *suspensura*, which appears thus: to cement to the cap of each pillar an 11 in. tile, the thickness being that of the other *lateres* employed,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in.<sup>1</sup> Over this, and also centred with the pillar, another, but 14 in. tile; and lastly, this was to be completed by 18 in. tiles placed from the centre of one support to that of the next. Of the overlying stratum of coarse concrete, parts (some 6 in. in thickness) still remain; the finer layers with the finished (and, no doubt, tessellated) surface having vanished, together with the upper walls of the building, its flues, fresco-paintings, and we know not what.

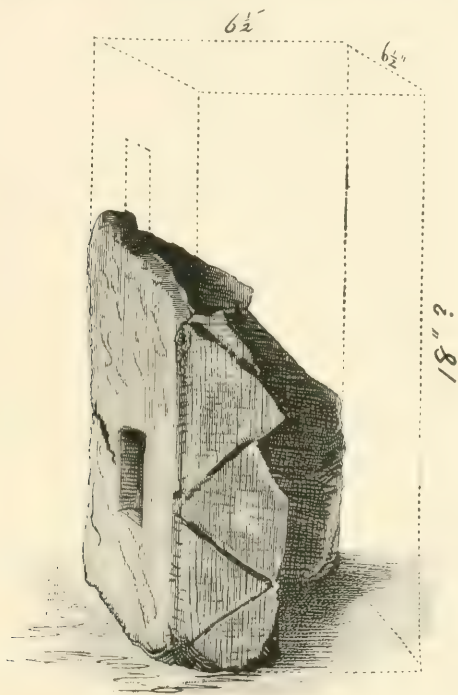
That channels for carrying the heated air were employed, even when a hypocaust was designed for the simple purpose of warming a room, is well known; and that in the present case *flue-tiles* had been so used, is evidenced by the fragments of some I found compacted together with clayey soil, at the inner base of the east wall. They appear to have been single flues, with a couple of oblong, rectangular perforations in each of their two sides; one of the other faces being scored with opposing diagonal lines, for the purpose of affording a purchase on the plastered surface of a wall.

There is no evidence of the original position of the flues on account of the defective nature of the east wall, and absence of the upper part of that on the west, the concrete of the floor being broken away at these places. A few feet still further west of the latter boundary were, at the time of the excavation, to be seen fragments of a

<sup>1</sup> In one place thinner ones (*tegulae*) afford the requisite level.

similar (and possibly once continuous) stratum of tiles bedded on concrete.<sup>1</sup>

Some local antiquaries interested in the preservation of the remains approached Mr. Sykes, the representative of the firm, requesting that the foundation-wall of the new building might be returned beneath the passage, right and left of the hypocaust, with girders and flags to



Flue-Tile (fragment of) found, with other pieces,  
near East Wall of Hypocaust.

maintain the pathway. This, however, Mr. Sykes would not concede. Matters remained in a most unsatisfactory state until the last moment, when I was assured his decision was final, the workmen being under orders to resume the building operations (hitherto suspended at this point) without delay,—a proceeding necessitating the removal of some of the few remaining pillars.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, the floor of a room whose western part had no hypocaust. If so, this would account for the western boundary being lower than the east.

I at once arranged, by telephone, for an interview with Mr. Sykes, then in Liverpool, where shortly afterwards I saw him. Kindly consenting to waive his own views, he immediately wired an order embodying my wishes, though expressly stipulating that the remains should not be for indiscriminate inspection.<sup>1</sup>

It was asserted by the men, that in testing the earth between the pillars, the rod met with obstacles, supposed to be the pillars of a row north of line B; and rather, from the possibility of the hypocaust having extended in this direction, than upon such uncertain evidence, have I given the dotted squares at A.

After it was decided to preserve the hypocaust, the remaining soil was cleared away, and the work of building completed before I was aware of the fact. If we accept the testimony of those who built the enclosing wall, no pillars were found in its northern line (the position of the supposed row A); also, had I been present I should have known something concerning the hidden portion of the ancient east wall. This, now the *débris* is removed, I find does not maintain the width of its front section (evident before the building of the main wall), save for a foot or more, as the inner face at about the north of line B is (if not returned to the east) broken away. A thorough examination, made by sinking through the passage, can alone determine these unsettled points.

In the third volume of the *Transactions of the Chester Archaeological Society* (iii, 39) it is recorded that a "fragment of pavement of similar kind and execution" to that found on the east side of Bridge Street in 1854, composed of black and white tessellæ, was discovered "on the east side of Northgate Street, at the north corner of the lower passage leading to the Cathedral. It had been formed on the solid rock." And again (p. 32 and plate), "During the year 1865, in excavating for a new building on the east side of Northgate Street, a very perfect though small specimen of pavement of this (*i.e.*, herring-bone) kind was exhumed. It measured 32 in. by 21 in., and was found imbedded in a square block of sandstone, in shape and form like an ordinary sinkstone, the elevated edges

<sup>1</sup> The diagonal lines in plan show the course of the new main wall, and of that enclosing remains.

of which were on a level with the tiles comprising the pavement, to which they formed a margin."<sup>1</sup>

The "lower passage leading to the Cathedral", and that I have described as "Crump's", are one and the same. Mr. Frederick Potts also tells me that he remembers the discovery of the "herring-bone" pavement (now in the Grosvenor Museum) when an excavation was made for Mrs. Evans's premises, and doubtless the tessellated fragment was found at the same time. We have thus evidence of a further extension of the building to the north-west, and may not unreasonably suppose that it was approached from the Roman *via* which ran upon nearly the same lines as the modern Northgate Street.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From footnotes to a paper by Dr. T. N. Brushfield on "The Roman Remains of Chester."

<sup>2</sup> In describing the remains, the name of Mr. Gleadowe, the Society's Hon. Curator, must not be omitted. Evincing a lively interest in the work, and fearing lest financial difficulties might thwart the almost accomplished end, this gentleman generously offered to bear the expenses attendant upon the erection of the enclosing wall,—an evidence of practical archæology meriting the thanks of antiquaries in general.

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## Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 15TH NOVEMBER 1893.

ALLAN WYON, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were elected :

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester, Farnham Castle  
Edward Arnold, Esq., Stoneleigh, Grove Road, Clapham  
Dr. Alfred J. H. Crespi, Wimborne, Dorset  
William Elwell, Esq., 52 Fulham Park Gardens, S.W.  
Edward Penton, Esq., F.R.G.S., 70 Gower Street, W.C.

T. Cann Hughes, Esq., was elected Local Member of Council for Cheshire.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :—

- To the Society*, for "Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," 1886-7. Washington, 1891. Fol. (Smithsonian Institute.)  
 „ „ for "Miscellaneous Collections," vol. xxxvi. 1893. (Ditto.)  
 „ „ for "Bibliography of the Chinookan Language." By J. C. Pilling. (Ditto.)  
 „ „ for "Meteorological Tables," 1893. (Ditto.)  
 „ „ for "Annual Report for 1891." American Historical Association.  
 „ „ for "Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland," Part II, vol. iii. 1893.  
 „ „ for "Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles," tome vii, livr. 4. 1 Oct. 1893.  
 „ „ for "Bulletin Historique," 41 année, livr. 164. 1892.  
 „ „ for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London," vol. xiv, Part 3.  
 „ „ for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne," vol. vi, Nos. 10-12.

Mr. Robert Quick exhibited a mask, apparently of a female, from

the Tombs of Thebes, in a good state of preservation, which Mr. Budge of the Egyptian Department of the British Museum has assigned to the 22nd Dynasty, *cir.* 800 to 1000 B.C.; also some wooden serpents from a cornice of a sepulchral box, B.C. 600, shortly before the 26th Dynasty; a scarabæus; and a piece of petrified wood from the petrified forest near Cairo. These were all obtained by the late Mr. George Vulliamy in the course of a tour he made in Egypt in 1843. In a diary which he kept during this tour he describes the petrified forest as distant about two hours' ride from Cairo, in a north-easterly direction, on the road to Suez. There were several miles of desert covered with fragments of petrified wood, the largest which he saw being 15 to 20 ft. long by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ft. diameter.

Mr. A. Oliver exhibited a rubbing of the brass at Sele, Kent, of Sir William de Bryene, A.D. 1395. The arms are those of *Bryene* impaling *Howard* and *FitzAlan*.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, who had at a former meeting exhibited a plan of a Roman bath at Strand Lane, London, said that he is now doubtful if it be Roman.

Mr. C. Davis exhibited a rubbing from St. Nicholas Church, Aberdeen, of the carved back of a bench or seat with the inscription, "This seat is apointed for the baxteris, and erected be thame, 1607", with six merchants' marks of the leading bakers of the guild.

Mr. J. M. Wood exhibited a tray of Samian ware from Colechester, and Roman horseshoe found with them, and with oyster-shells in great quantity.

Rev. J. Cave-Browne, M.A., read a paper on "Leeds Church, Kent," and exhibited a series of illustrations. The paper has been printed above, at pp. 284-96.

Mr. W. B. Sanders, the architect who had repaired the church of Leeds, made some remarks on the ancient screen.

Mr. Brock read a paper by H. S. Cuming, Esq., V.P., F.S.A.Scot., on "Merchants' Marks", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter.

#### WEDNESDAY, 6TH DEC. 1893.

DR. B. WINSTONE IN THE CHAIR; SUBSEQUENTLY C. H. COMPTON, Esq.,  
V.P.

The following Member was duly elected: William Wooder, Highgate.

Miss Swann, 141 Woodstock Road, Oxford; and

J. H. MacMichael, High Roothing, Essex,

were elected Honorary Corresponding Members.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

*To the Society*, for "Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society," New Series, vol. ii, Pt. II.

„ „ for "Pamatky Archæologicke a Mistopisne," v. Praze, 1892.

*To J. R. Allen, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.*, for "Illustrated Archæologist," Parts I-III.

Mr. Chas. Browne, Mayor of Chester, sent an account of an inscribed stone discovered on the 7th July 1893 (not in position), near the Tower called "Pemberton's Parlour", which fell down a few months since. "The Corporation have rebuilt it to the level of the pathway of the Walls, and I hope to see it fully restored and renovated, with its old name, 'The Goblin Tower.'"

CL DOMITIVS  
CL F CLA OP<sup>TA</sup>=P  
VA VIBVNEI

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited and described, on behalf of the Marquess of Bute, K.T., V.P., plans of—(1) Cardiff Castle and adjacent grounds; and (2) the Black Friars in the Castle grounds; forwarded by Mr. J. Corbett of Cardiff, agent to the Marquess.

#### THE EXCAVATION OF THE SITE OF BLACK FRIARS PRIORY, AND DISCOVERIES AT CARDIFF CASTLE.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SECRETARY.

By the courtesy of the Marquess of Bute we have now before us plans of the discoveries that have been recently made at Cardiff. They indicate the results of the excavations made by direction of his Lordship, and are sent to us by his permission.

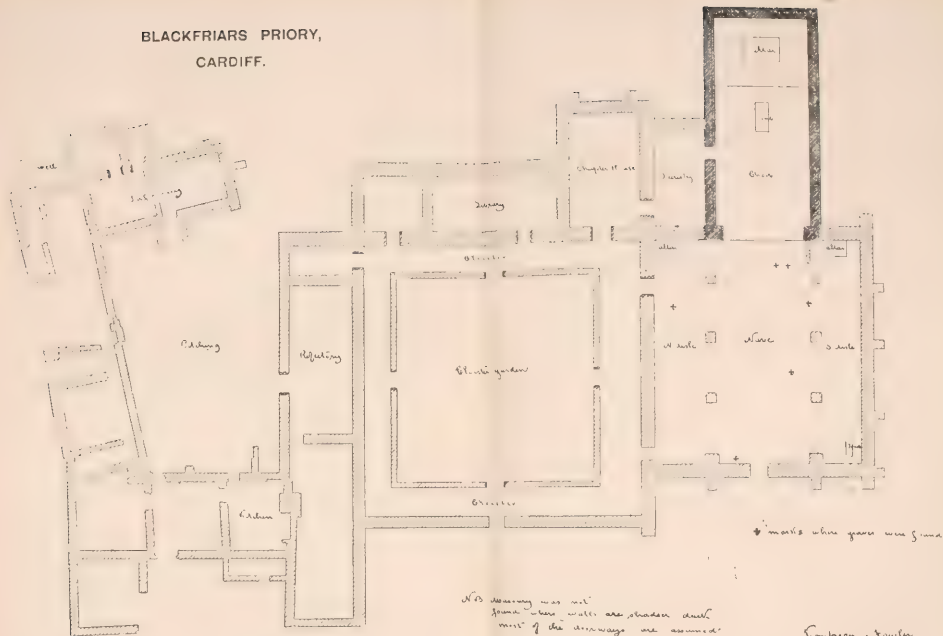
It will be within the memory of many of our members that during the Congress at Cardiff attention was drawn to a series of walls of modern brickwork of various colours, erected to a moderate height, and pleasantly laid out with flowers and shrubs. The spot is to the west of the enclosure of the Castle grounds, at some moderate distance from the present road into the town, but which must have been much closer to the old roadway, the line of the latter having been a little distance to the north, judging by the abutments of the ancient bridge over the river close to the site, which can be seen from the modern bridge to the south of them.

The brick walls, which from a distance appear like a labyrinth, mark the site where excavations were made, not long since, to determine the site of the Black Friars' Priory; where not only the foundations of the





BLACKFRIARS PRIORY,  
CARDIFF.



As drawing was not  
from a plan, walls are shaded dark  
most of the doorways are assumed.

Plan

Tompson, Fowler  
Cardiff  
19 + Sep. 1895



church, more or less shattered, were met with, but those of the monastic buildings. These were followed all over the site, wherever it was possible to find them, with the result that the whole of the ground-plan of the little establishment has been recovered. As will be seen by reference to the plan, a detached building (supposed with great probability to have been the infirmary) has also been uncovered.

The church is to the south of the monastic buildings, and it must have been, therefore, the most conspicuous part of them. The plan shows by its scale the relative sizes of the church and the various apartments, and also the position of a well, which was found in good condition.

Of the history of the establishment but few traces have been preserved. The *Monasticon* has but a brief note that there are some records of proceedings in the Court of Augmentation concerning it, and a quotation from Leland, that the site was without Meskin Gate. The excavations have, however, revealed a few architectural details which indicate that portions of the buildings were of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

A few encaustic tiles, more or less worn, and some fragments of coarse pottery were met with, and these remained on the walls at the period of the visit. The rough foundations of two altars, one at the end of each of the nave-aisles, still exist.<sup>1</sup> The plan shows the positions of several graves within the nave and aisles. Do these point to laymen's burial within the Friary, according to custom, and, it may be, in friars' costume? One slab remains in position in the south-west corner of the south aisle. It has a sinking for a brass; and although much decayed, it is still preserved where it was found, by Lord Bute's direction. The small end of the slab faces west. Three other slabs were found *in situ*.

A row of interments was also found against the west wall.

A stone-built grave was found in the centre of the choir, with iron handles at each end of the skeleton; and rods, as if they had been used to let down the coffin, of which there were fragments remaining. This interment is supposed to be that of John de Ecclescliff, a Dominican from the see of Connor, in Ireland, who died at Bishton, anciently called Lancadwalladr, Jany. 2nd, 1343, and who was buried in the church of the Dominicans, or Friars Preachers, at Cardiff. Mr. Fowler searched the remains carefully, but he found no trace of a ring. The grave was 7 ft. long by 2 ft. wide, built of rough masonry.

The site of the high altar shown is assumed.

Another grave has been found within the last eight weeks, by the

<sup>1</sup> A portion of the covering slab, 5 in. thick, and chamfered, was found, having the central cross. It has recently been replaced, and the altar rebuilt.

north-west corner of the assumed position of the altar. It contains a leaden coffin within a stone grave.

The floor-line of the domestic buildings has been recovered, and this level is exposed.

The floor of the church has recently been relaid with new tiles similar to those which were found during the excavations, made by Messrs. Godwin and Son of Lugwardine.

Antiquaries owe their thanks to Lord Bute for his care and outlay in rescuing the site from oblivion, and I am sure that they will be very heartily rendered to him by all the members of this Association.

I may add that the differences of colour of the modern walls record where the ancient foundations actually exist beneath them, and also where they have been entirely removed. Where they actually exist beneath, the walls are of black and white brick; where they were entirely removed, the outline, as near as possible, is of red brick. The rough trenches which they occupied, filled with broken mortar from the demolitions, were sufficient to show where they had been with very fair certainty. The plan has been prepared by Messrs. Kempson and Fowler of Cardiff, who superintended the works.

The plan of Cardiff Castle, sent by Mr. E. W. M. Corbett, shows the whole area of the building, and it indicates the form and position of the great earthen mound upon which the mediæval keep was afterwards erected; also the remarkable approaches and their defences, which were excavated and partially restored by Lord Bute a few years ago. It also indicates the Roman walling enclosing the Castle area, recently discovered. This is described on p. 67 of the *Journal*. Mr. Corbett, in sending the plan, says:—

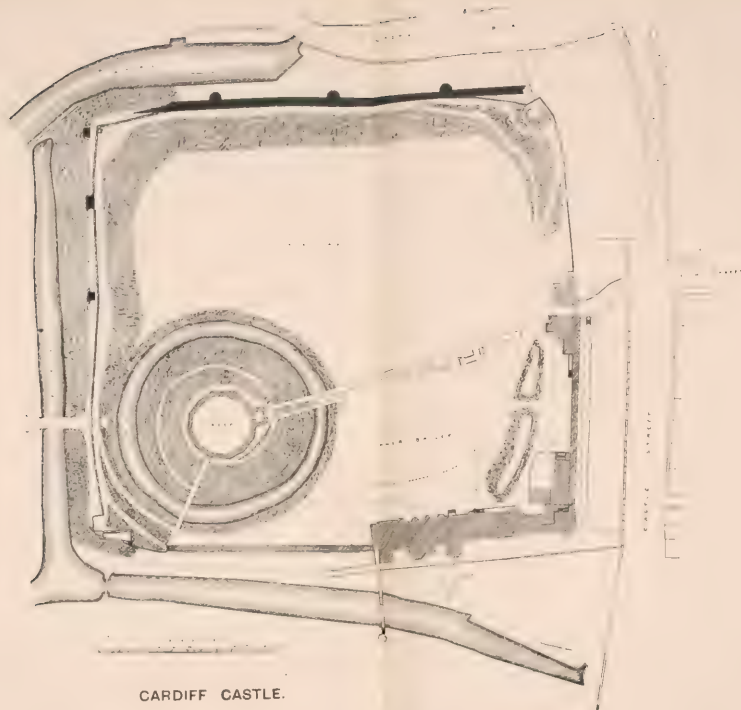
“As far as I know, the only evidence we have that the work is Roman is its almost exact similarity to the Caerwent walls, with similar bastions; that there is an evident attempt at arranging the pebbles of which the heart of the wall is composed, herring-bone fashion; that there is little doubt the mound, and moat round it, on which the keep stands, were in existence in Roman times, as Roman coins were found in the old moat bottom when it was re-excavated a few years ago.

“The wall has been found on all four sides of the Castle Green, and it is practically certain it formed a square enclosure. I heard doubts expressed as to the remains of that wall being Roman; and as I have not studied the subject, and do not profess any great knowledge of such matters, I only say that, as far as I can see, if the Caerwent walls are Roman, I see no reason to doubt that this work is, as allowing for the different material, it is hardly possible to consider they were built by different people, the similarity of construction and plan is so complete.”

The discovery of Roman coins may not be conclusive evidence of







CARDIFF CASTLE.



the existence of the earthen mound in Roman times, since they may have fallen in from the surface. It is important, however, to record their discovery. The mound appears to be of similar form to that at Caerleon, where the evidences point strongly to a Saxon date.

It will be observed by the plan that the mound is so placed that it would just escape interfering with the Roman wall on the north, supposing that it was there beforehand. This appears to have been done on purpose, and I consider it to be some evidence that the wall is the older of the two.

Mr. Brock exhibited a fragmentary *cyathus* of Roman black ware, found in London, ornamented with patterns of concentric semicircles and parallel lines, and having the inside embellished with small pick-markings.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a series of objects recently found near Bankside, comprising Durobrivian *ficilia*, a coin of Trajan, bone implements, bracclets of Kimmeridge coal and of bone, and some mediæval jettons.

Mr. C. E. Davis exhibited a rough mould, or offset, from a relief of the arms of the City of London reversed.

Mr. Brock read a paper, by Mr. J. T. Irvine, on the "Discovery of the Ground-Plan of the Saxon Abbey Church of Peterborough", parallel to, and partly within, the area of the present edifice, further south.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper on "The Stadium on the Palatine", by J. Russell Forbes, Esq.



## Antiquarian Intelligence.

*Historic Worcestershire.* By W. SALT BRASSINGTON, F.S.A.—Worcestershire, “The Garden of England”, contains within its borders more of the elements of English life than any other shire. This is no hasty assertion, but the opinion of one of the greatest living historians, Dr. Creighton, Bishop of Peterborough. Hitherto no single volume has been specially devoted to a popular account of this, in many respects, most important midland county.

In *Historic Worcestershire* it has been the author’s endeavour to weave into a comprehensive and readable volume many incidents of national and local interest: legends, romances, superstitions, folk-lore, family traditions, and accounts of remarkable people, institutions, and industries connected with Worcestershire.

The historic events connected with the county are of great interest. Worcestershire is an old fighting-ground,—the entrenched camps on the Malverns, the battle-fields of Evesham and Tewkesbury, the earth-works on the hills and around Worcester, recall memories of battles fought by the Britons and the Romans, of the wars of Stephen’s reign, of the Barons’ War, the Wars of the Roses, and the Great Rebellion. Worcestershire is no less famous for the number and wealth of the Monasteries within its borders,—Worcester, Evesham, Malvern, Pershore, Bordesley, and Hales Owen, all have a history worth recording. Worcester was the city where the Norman kings celebrated the Christmas festival. There King John was buried, and there Henry II and his Queen laid their royal crowns upon the high altar, vowing never to wear them more.

It was in Worcestershire that one of the best of the English Chronicles was written. It was at Arley, on the banks of the Severn, that Layamon, the monk, wrote the first great English poem, *The Brut*, which gave expression to the English love of liberty. It was at Malvern that Langland laid the scene of his poem, *The Vision of Piers the Plowman*, which gave the signal for the break-up of mediæval systems. The romantic flight of Charles II commenced at Worcester. Some of the chief families in the county were concerned in the Essex Rebellion and the Gunpowder Plot.

These and other subjects of more than local interest are treated of in *Historic Worcestershire*, which is the result of a careful study of the history of the county, being based on original research, and should

interest the general reader as well as the student of local history. The illustrations are a special feature of the work, great care being devoted to their selection and reproduction in order to make them thoroughly representative. They include not only views and portraits, but maps and illustrations of ancient documents and buildings.

*Historic Worcestershire* is issued by the author, Moseley, Birmingham, in the following styles:—

1. Twelve Monthly Parts at 6*d.* each, net.
2. Limited edition of 350 (300 only for sale) copies of twelve Monthly Parts, for subscribers only, at 1*s.* each, net. Printed on large paper. The names of the subscribers to this issue will be printed in Part XII. All unsubscribed copies, on the completion of the work, will be advanced to £1 1*s.*, or more, for the set of twelve Parts.
3. *Edition de luxe.* Twelve copies (ten only for sale) printed on Japanese vellum, proof plates, with some additional plates not appearing in the cheaper edition, £5 5*s.* net for the set of twelve Parts.

*South Brent Parish Church, South Devon.*—The Church of St. Petrox, the belfry of which originally constituted the parish church, built about A.D. 1040, in which the bells of the church hang, is in great danger, from the fact that the woodwork sustaining the bells is so decayed from age and damp that it is absolutely necessary to replace the beams and rehang the bells at a cost estimated at £100, and that work should be undertaken with as little delay as possible. Some three years ago supports to the old beams were put up by one of the village carpenters, and on these depend the upholding of the weight of the bells, and the woodwork on which the bells hang. Were these to give way, the entire peal of bells would, doubtless, be destroyed, and possibly endanger the tower, and the cost of replacing the bells would be very great. The main body of the church was erected four hundred years after the belfry, so that the entire date of the church is 1440. The church contains a very fine example of an old Norman font.

The parish of South Brent is purely an agricultural parish, with no landed gentry immediately connected with it, so that it is necessary to obtain the sympathy of those who are interested in the preservation of these old remnants of antiquity, and to none can we more worthily give than to the House of God.

*Brendaniana: St. Brendan the Voyager, in Story and Legend*, by the Rev. Denis O'Donoghue, P.P. (Dublin: Browne and Nolan), is an industrious compilation from a multitude of sources, which may be studied with pleasure and profit by the reader interested in Irish hagiology. The introductory chapter, on the history of the ancient Cathedral of St. Brendan, at Ardfert, is useful and interesting; and the

same may be said of some of the topographical and other notes to the Irish and Latin Lives. The suggestion at p. 94, for the origin of the whale episode, is most ingenious. But the volume would, we venture to think, have been greatly improved by a little judicious compression. Many of the notes are too diffuse, containing lengthy extracts from modern poetry which might well have been omitted; and the report of the public pilgrimage to Brandon Mountain, in 1868, seems unnecessarily long. In the Appendix, Thomas Wright's edition (for the Percy Society) of the early English versions of the legend is reprinted in full.

*Llantwit Major: a Fifth Century University.* By ALFRED C. FRYER, M.A. (London: Stock.)—This is an interesting little book which has grown to its present shape out of a paper upon the same subject read before us at the Cardiff Congress in 1892. Mr. Fryer has carefully



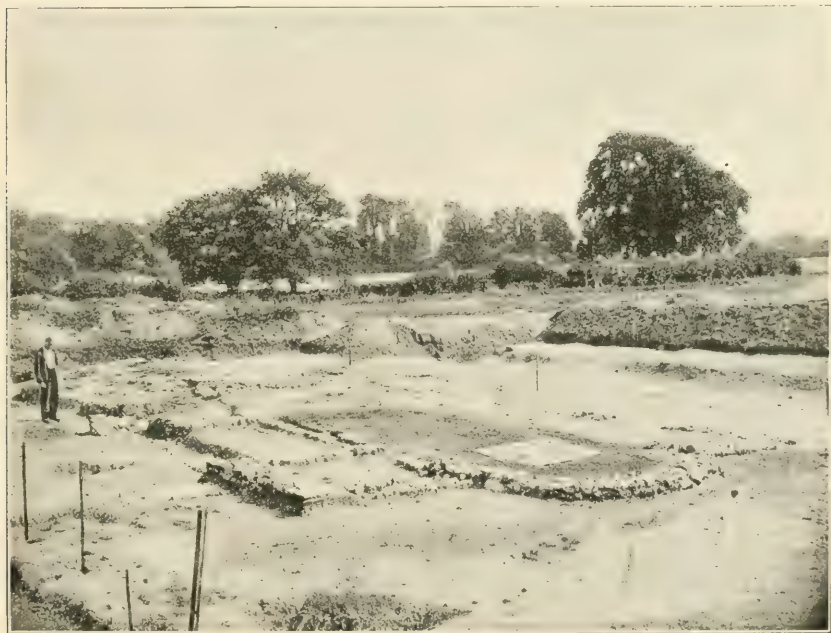
St. Illtyd's Cross.

gathered together all that is known of Llantwit from the *Liber Landavensis* and kindred sources, and finds warrant for his thesis, that at the remote period of the fifth century the site was invested with sufficient educational character to be in reality a university town, to which

the Celtic youth, attracted by the name and reputation of St. Illtyd, repaired for instruction.

The reader must judge for himself, after careful perusal of this work, whether the author has succeeded in convincing him of this, as it must always be a matter of great uncertainty how far there was any education in England at that period, when all was in so terrible a condition of misrule and insecurity. That there were, however, individuals whose efforts to keep alive the sacred flame of learning, even in the midst of danger and death, is abundantly testified by numerous ancient records, although we must hesitate to accept the manifestly exaggerated accounts which so constantly crop up in many of these evidences.

The work is written in a graphic and pleasing manner; the illustrations are apposite and good, especially that of St. Illtyd's Cross; and we feel that we have here a welcome contribution to Cambrian antiquities.



Site of the so-called Christian Church, Silchester, from the West.  
From *The Illustrated Archaeologist*.

*The Illustrated Archaeologist*. (C. J. Clark, 4 Lincoln's Inn Fields.)—We have now received three Parts of this new publication devoted (as its title implies) to the advancement of British and foreign antiquities which by their nature adapt themselves to illustration. The work pro-



mises well; and if it is continued in the excellent way in which it has begun, there is no doubt that it will earn a prominent place among the exponent publications of archaeology. Now that investigation has been directed to, and interest has been fostered about, the many relics of the past, there has long been need of some such work as this, with a scope of perhaps even wider range than most of the Journals and Transactions of antiquarian societies, and partaking, to some degree, of the nature of *The Gentleman's Magazine* in its cosmopolitan aspect, and at the same time forming a convenient means of recording the new finds, both small and great, which are constantly coming to light. The notices and papers on prehistoric flint-knapping, the Grosvenor Museum at Chester, the sculptured Norman capitals at Southwell, Silchester investigations, the sculptured tombs of Argyllshire, the Celtic brooch, and flint saws and sickles, may be especially pointed out as of more than ordinary interest to the general reader.

One advantage of this publication is that, while societies for the most part draw their literary materials from their members, Mr. Allen, the Editor, relies on the whole world of archaeologists to keep him supplied with articles; and he has not trusted to them in vain, judging from the attractive lists of contents. The work is copiously illustrated, well printed, and tastefully designed, for which Mr. Clark (who has printed our *Journal* for a long time) merits a word of praise.

Mr. Elliot Stock's more recent publications with an antiquarian tendency include an elegant little facsimile collection entitled *Thoughts that Breathe, and Words that Burn*, from the writings of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam. Selected by Alexander B. Grosart. A dainty duodecimo that may shed grace and lustre on the inmost cave of the philosopher or the prettiest nook at a fireside. The selections are quaint and powerful, and serve to show how full of deep philosophy and humour the illustrious Lord High Chancellor of three hundred years ago was, who could put on paper so much that is as applicable to humanity to-day as it was in those days of comparative ignorance. — *How to Decipher and Study Old Documents*, by E. E. THOMAS; with an Introduction by C. T. MARTIN, F.S.A., Assistant Keeper of H.M. Records. — This is an unsatisfactory work, but may serve to incite readers to pass on to other better standard works on the subject. — *The Legendary Lore of the Holy Wells of England, including Rivers, Lakes, Fountains, and Springs*. By R. C. HOPE, F.S.A. With many illustrations. — We are much pleased with this work, which records nearly all that can be said upon so fascinating a theme; one on which the antiquary, the folk-lorist, and even the anthropologist, has so much to say. It is well to gather up the myths and legends which haunt

these sacred spots of the earth before the history is forgotten, and the site destroyed. There is material enough in this volume to enable any number of mythological stories and supernatural events to be constructed.—The fourth Part of the English Topography Series, in *The Gentleman's Magazine* Library, edited by Mr. G. L. GOMME, F.S.A., deals with the counties alphabetically, from Durham to Gloucester inclusive. It is astonishing to find so many really valuable notices of almost forgotten places and objects in this work.—The seventh Part of the *History of the Deanery of Bicester (Fritwell and Souldern)*, by Rev. J. C. BLOMFIELD, M.A., maintains the character of the publication for the painstaking research which is fully apparent throughout it.

*Viaggio Archeologico sulla Via Salaria nel circondario di cittaduale, con appendice sulle antichità dei dintorni, e tavola topografica, Nicolò Persichetti, Marquis de Collebucolo.* (Rome: Loescher.)—Works relating to the archæology of Italy are always very welcome to us here in England because, by means of the descriptions and illustrations of Roman remains which they contain, we are enabled to differentiate our own insular vestiges of the Roman occupation. The author here describes with elegance and simplicity, in a clear and unaffected manner, his investigations along the track of a good part of the ancient *Via Salaria*. Prefacing his researches with a general description of the *via*, or Roman road, in theory as well as in actual finding, he sets out from the Porta Collina, and appears to leave nothing unexplored, or passed over in silence, which is of noteworthiness in the way.

This Salarian Way (so called, apparently, “*quia per eam Sabini sal a mari deferebant*”) is not without notices of its importance in classic times; it passed through a district rich in antiquarian results, and separate chapters are devoted to sections of the route. Reate (or Rieti, as it is now called) and its vicinity, to Androdoco yielded several inscriptions; and the massive wall still stands in places to testify to the solidity of the Roman work, which may be compared with our own remains at Chester, for example.

From Androdoco, trending northwards, the next section proceeds to Sigillo; and here is found a stupendous cutting, almost perpendicular, of the calcareous rock, 30 mètres high and 21 mètres long, of which a capital illustration is given. Inscriptions also are met with; and a good specimen of the rough block walling called *pseudoisodorum*. Posta is the limit of the third section; thence to Citta-Reale; Tufo, with a digression upon the pretended routes of Hannibal and Metella; Vigliano, in the vicinity of which is a fine, ancient arch of large blocks, of which the author speaks with animation, and gives an excellent illustration; and numerous other sites, from which inscriptions

have been recovered ; their aqueducts and other works inspected and measured ; and many antiquarian theories critically examined.

The work is furnished with a good map showing the *Via* from Reate, through Ad-Martis and Asculum, to the Adriatic, which will enable the reader to follow the footsteps of the author. There should also have been an index, which would add much value to it as a work of reference. This is quite a pattern-book of good work, not too heavily described, but concisely written, and carefully edited : one that will be certain to earn for its writer a full measure of praise, not only in his own country, where research, as a rule, is properly acknowledged, but here in England also, where the recognition of literary and antiquarian merit is so often neglected. There are many ancient *vici* in Britain, prehistoric and Roman, which deserve as careful a survey and as excellent a description as the Marquis de Collebuscolo has recorded of the *Via Salaria*.

*Chapters in the Early History of the Church of Wells* (A.D. 1136-1333), drawn from unpublished Documents in Possession of the Dean and Chapter of Wells. By the Rev. C. M. CHURCH, M.A., F.S.A., Sub-Dean and Canon Residentiary of Wells.—The bulk of this volume was first published in *Archæologia*, and is now reprinted by permission of the Society of Antiquaries ; recast, corrected, largely added to, and presented in a form at once more convenient and generally accessible. The documents throw fresh light on the history of the Cathedral between the times of Bishop Robert and Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury. Among the points brought out are the following :—1, Bishop Robert, foundation of Chapter constitution, first building of present Church, first charter of free trade to the city. 2, the record of the episcopate of Reginald de Bohun. 3, the career of Bishop Savaric, and his policy in bringing the monasteries of the diocese in subordination to the see. 4, the episcopate of Bishop Jocelin ; his work in the earlier fabric and constitution of the Church. 5, the controversy and final settlement between Bath and Wells concerning the election of the Bishop and the title of the Bishop. 6, the growth of the fabric, and of the autonomy of the Dean and Chapter in the home-rule of the Church between 1242 and 1333.

There will also be several fac-similes of seals, a representation, in colours, of a twelfth century crozier, and plans and drawings of the Cathedral Church at various stages of its history.

The work will be printed in demy 8vo., on good paper, and in large, clear type ; and will be issued in cloth, with uncut edges ; limited to 500 copies, and the price to subscribers will be 12s. 6d., post free ; after publication (should any copies remain unsubscribed), the price

will be 15s. Subscribers' names are now being received by the publishers, Barnicott and Pearce, 44 Fore Street, Taunton.

*Folk-Lore of Scottish Lochs and Springs*, by JAMES M. MACKINLAY, M.A., F.S.A.Scot. In the press, and will shortly be published, about 320 pp., 8vo., price 5s. net, by Messrs. William Hodge and Co., 26 Bothwell Street, Glasgow.—The contents comprise notices of Worship of Water—How Water became Holy—Saints and Springs—More Saints and Springs—Stone Blocks and Saints' Springs—Healing and Holy Wells—Water-Cures—Some Wonderful Wells—Witness of Water—Water-Spirits—More Water-Spirits—Offerings at Lochs and Springs—Weather and Wells—Trees and Springs—Charm-Stones in and out of Water—Pilgrimages to Wells—Sun-Worship and Well-Worship—Wishing Wells—Meaning of Marvels. And there is a full index.

*An Anglo-Norman Record Society*.—At a meeting held in Norfolk House last June, at which the Duke of Norfolk, K.G., in the chair; the Marquess of Abergavenny, K.G.; the Earl of Crawford, K.T.; the Earl of Belmore, G.C.M.G.; the Bishop of Oxford; Lord Amherst of Hackney, and many others were present, it was resolved unanimously to form a Society for the purpose of printing the early charters and chartularies of Norman and English abbeys. The meeting also appointed a Committee to give effect to the resolution.

The value of the information contained in the charters and chartularies of religious houses has met, of late years, with continuously increasing recognition; but few students are even yet aware how necessary they are for a full comprehension of the chronicles now familiar to us. As sources of history—checking, with evidence of the highest authority, the statements of chroniclers—their publication is asserted by the Bishop of Oxford to be most important; but, while separate chartularies of English abbeys are occasionally printed by independent workers, no Society yet exists to explore the monastic records of the mediæval (and especially Anglo-Norman) period effectually; and it is felt that only combined and organised effort, such as a strong Society could bring to bear, can properly cope and systematically deal with the mass of material to be examined. At the Norfolk House meeting a letter expressing the hearty approval of the Prince of Wales was read, and letters promising support have been received from the Duke of Rutland and several persons of influence.

It is, therefore, proposed to found a Society to be called the "Anglo-Norman Record Society", which shall undertake, in the first instance, to print monastic records from the MSS. still subsisting in England and France. The subscription will be two guineas annually, and the volumes will be issued only to members and to such public institutions



as the Council of the Society shall approve. It is not intended to incur any expenses other than those connected with the Society's publications.

We venture to recommend this scheme, being confident that the object is of great historical, topographical, and genealogical interest; and as it is obvious that without strong support it will be impossible to set on foot a work of such magnitude, those who desire to join the movement should communicate with Mr. W. A. Lindsay, Carlton Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.

*The Annals of the Parish and Church of St. Olave's, Hart Street, in the City of London; with some Account of Allhallows Staining, ecclesiastically united with St. Olave's, A.D. 1870; by the Rev. ALFRED POVAH, D.D., Rector of the United Parishes, and Rural Dean of the East City, are about to be published by Messrs. Blades, East, and Blades, 23 Abchurch Lane, London, E.C.*

The Rector of the United Parishes of St. Olave's, Hart Street, and Allhallows Staining, has decided to publish what information he possesses with reference to these parishes. St. Olave's, with which he was first associated, will occupy the larger share of the work. St. Olave's is designated in the old Registers of the Bishop of London, "*justa Turrim*" (next or near to the Tower of London), and many of the parishioners residing in the neighbourhood of "the royal palace for assemblies and treaties" were people of quality. The present church has stood four hundred years, and escaped, of course, the Great Fire. It is a beautiful example of Perpendicular architecture at its best period, and is often mentioned as "our own Church" by Samuel Pepys, who lived close by, in Seething Lane, and was buried "in a Vault by y<sup>e</sup> Communion Table."

It is proposed to give a full account of it and of the changes which it has undergone; of the church-furniture, ornaments, etc.; of the monuments, the brasses, sword-rests, with the inscriptions, armorial bearings, etc. In 1871 sixteen monuments were brought from Allhallows' to St. Olave's. They will be included in the description. Illustrations will be given of the more prominent. There will also be a record of monuments that formerly existed.

The book will be copiously illustrated throughout by some of the best artists, and every care will be bestowed on its production, to make it as complete and perfect as possible. The size will be demy 4to. and to subscribers the price will be £1 1s., afterwards raised to £2 2s.

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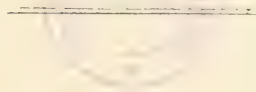
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 Lanuvium : *Savile*.  
 Larkham (Thomas) : *Radford*.  
 Launceston : *Peter*.  
 Layer Marney : *Laver*.  
 Leatherwork : *Franks*.  
 Lichfield : *Crofton*.  
 Limerick : *Westropp*.  
 Lincoln : *Allen, Fox, Venables, Wordsworth*.  
 Lincolnshire, *see* Aslaebv, Frampton, Ingoldmells, Lincoln, Milnthorpe.  
 Little Chester : *Bailey, Currey*.  
 Little Compton : *Killick*.  
 Little Horwood : *Keyser*.  
 Little Petherick : *Molesworth*.  
 Llanallgo : *Davies*.  
 Llanbadarn Fawr : *Davey*.  
 Lockridge : *Ditchfield*.  
 London : *Birch, Grover, London, Micklethwaite, Norman, Simpson, Welch*.  
 Lough Derg : *Butler*.  
 Lough Erne : *Murphy*.  
 Lough Gur : *Ffrench*.  
 Ludlow : *Jones*.  
 Luguvallium : *Ferguson*.  
 Lyte family : *Lyte*.  
 Lytescary : *Buckle, Lyte*.  
  
 Macclesfield : *Axon*.  
 Madnesbury : *Baynall, Oakley, Bazeley*.  
 Manchester : *Axon, Crofton, Letts*.

- Manors : *Adamson, Buckle, Currey, Evans, Hodgson, King, Latimer, Peacock.*
- Marriage licenses : *Norcliffe.*
- Mediæval antiquities, *see* Architecture, Ecclesiastical.
- Merchants' Marks : *Worth.*
- Mexican antiquities : *Howarth.*
- Middleham : *Mitchell.*
- Middleton St. George : *Fowler.*
- Midlothian : *Curle.*
- Milan : *Beltrami.*
- Milnthorpe : *Peacock.*
- Miniatures : *Bradley.*
- Mobberley : *Mallory.*
- Monasterboice : *Hassé.*
- Monmouth rebellion : *Humphreys.*
- Monuments, effigies, and tombs : *Axon, Bagnall-Oakeley, Bailey, Brown, Frampton, Higgins, Irvine, James, King, Lees, Letts, Oliver, Owen, Stephenson, Waller, Williams.*
- Monuments, protection of ancient : *Cochrane.*
- Moreton in the Marsh : *Belcher.*
- Much Hadham : *Tarte.*
- Municipal insignia : *Auden, Brook, Hope, Macquire.*
- Museums : *Allen.*
- Music : *Frazer.*
- Newcastle-on-Tyne : *Clephan.*
- Newry : *Frazer.*
- Northamptonshire, *see* Peterborough.
- Northumberland : *Cripps, Dendy. See* Coquetdale, Haltwhistle, Kirk Whelpington, Newcastle, Wallsend.
- Nottinghamshire : *see* Southwell.
- Numismatics :  
 Cyprus : *Warren.*  
 English : *Heywood, Packe.*  
 Ethelred I : *Grantley.*  
 Greek : *Montagu, Weber, Wroth.*  
 Groats : *Lawrence, Montagu.*  
 Henry I. : *Evans.*  
 Leather money : *Strong.*  
 Medals and tokens : *Grueber, Weber, Yates.*  
 Oriental : *Baker, Cunningham, Johnston, Lane-Poole, Richardson.*  
 Roman : *Bailey, Grueber, Weber.*  
 Saxon : *Richardson.*
- Oakham : *Evans.*
- Ore deposits : *Collins.*
- Ornaments, personal : Bronze age : *Anderson. See* Rings.
- Osgoldcross : *Holmes.*
- Ostend, siege of : *Belleröche.*
- Oxford : *Bateson, Bodleian, Daniel, Harrison, Kirby, Myres, Oman, Oxford, Pittwellings.*
- Oxfordshire, *see* Burford, Chipping Norton, Oxford.
- Oxsted : *Gower.*
- Padbury : *Keyser.*
- Padstow : *Trollope.*
- Parish Accounts, *see* Churchwardens.
- Peakforest : *Kerry.*
- Pembrokeshire, *see* St. Davids.
- Perthshire, *see* Ardoch, Forteirot.
- Peterborough : *Irvine, Waller.*
- Pittington : *Fowler.*
- Place names : *Carrington, Cox, Hickson, Peacock.*
- Plymouth : *Collier.*
- Plymtree : *Mozley.*
- Pontesbury : *Drinkwater.*
- Pottery : *Beer.*
- Prehistoric antiquities :  
 Bog butter : *O'Laverty.*  
 Brittany : *Healy.*  
 Brochs : *Curle, Hudd, Mackay.*  
 Burials : *Hassé, Kerr, Longfield, Mackintosh, Worth.*  
 Caves : *Cowper, Hughes, Ward.*  
 Crannogs : *Bulleid, Ferguson.*  
 Egypt : *Spurrell.*  
 India : *Hughes.*  
 Mexican : *Howarth.*  
 Ornaments : *Frazer.*  
 Oxford : *Oman.*  
 Palæolithic : *Lasham.*  
 Shropshire : *Kenyon.*  
 Stone circles : *Lewis, Phené, Teall, Worth.*  
 Stone implements : *Balfour, Black, Ffrench, Gray, Harrison, Munro, Patterson, Prestwich, Spurrell.*
- Prestonpans : *Hislop.*
- Prestwich : *Fishwick.*
- Rievaulx : *Compton.*
- Rings : *Day, Laver.*
- Ripon : *Micklethwaite.*
- Roads : *Harrison.*
- Robsart (Amy) : *Bain.*
- Robsart (Sir John) : *Bain.*
- Rock engravings : *Chester.*
- Roman remains : *Haverfield.*  
 Carlisle : *Ferguson, Haverfield.*  
 Chester : *Rhys.*

Colchester : *Haverfield, Laver.*  
 Devonshire : *Worth.*  
 Doneaster : *Fairbank.*  
 Durham : *Blair.*  
 Hardknott : *Calverley, Dymond, Ferguson.*  
 Kent : *Beer.*  
 Lincoln : *Fox, Venables.*  
 Little Chester : *Bailey.*  
 London : *Grover.*  
 Northumberland : *Blair.*  
 Oxford : *Myres, Oxford.*  
 Roads : *Shrubsole.*  
 Silchester : *Fox.*  
 South Shields : *Blair, Haverfield.*  
 South Shoebury : *King.*  
 Stone Cross : *Cowper.*  
 Twyford : *Kirby.*  
 Wallsend : *Blair, Haverfield.*  
 Rutlandshire, *see* Oakham.

Saints : *Owen.*  
 St. Andrews : *Hutcheson.*  
 St. Davids : *Westwood.*  
 St. Ippolyts : *Davys.*  
 St. Martins : *Baxter.*  
 St. Mullins : *Ffrench.*  
 Saxon remains :  
     Lockridge : *Ditchfield.*  
     Ripon : *Micklethwaite.*  
     Skye : *Richardson.*  
 Scone : *Baxter.*  
 Sculpture : *Belcher.*  
     Church : *Bagnall-Oakeley.*  
     Norman : *Allen.*  
 Seals : *Guthrie.*  
 Selattyn : *Bulkeley-Owen.*  
 Selby : *Pritchett.*  
 Selkirkshire : *Curle.*  
 Selwyn families : *Codrington.*  
 Senhouse family : *Senhouse.*  
 Shetland : *Goudie.*  
 Shoebury : *Read.*  
 Shrewsbury : *Auden, Blakeway.*  
 Shropshire : *Bird, Fletcher, Kenyon, Wakeman, see* Ludlow, Selattyn, Shrewsbury.  
 Silchester : *Fox.*  
 Skye : *Richardson.*  
 Smith (William, LL.D.) : *Chisholm-Batten.*  
 Somersetshire, *see* Bedminster, Lytescary, Wellington, Wells.  
 South Shields : *Blair, Haverfield.*  
 South Shoebury : *King.*  
 Southwell : *Allen.*  
 Spoon, the : *Jackson.*

Staffordshire : *Boyd, Wrottesley, see* Lichfield, Pontesbury, Tatchley.  
 Stevenage : *Clarkson, Fowler.*  
 Stones Sculptured : *Allen, Cowper, Goldard, Lees, Nicholson.*  
 Strata Marcella : *Williams.*  
 Studham : *Evans.*  
 Sully (Sir John de, K.G.) : *Jones.*  
 Surrey : *Cooper, Crisp, Howard, Lasham. See* Charlwood, Guildford, Oxted, Tandridge, Titsey, Wandsworth.  
 Sussex : *Codrington.*  
 Sutcliffe (Dr. Matthew) : *Troup.*  
 Sutherlandshire : *Kerr.*  
 Sutton : *Blashill.*  
 Swallowfield : *Russell.*

Talley : *Williams.*  
 Tandridge : *Gower.*  
 Tateley : *Drinkwater.*  
 Thomas (Sir Rhys ap) : *Jones.*  
 Thomas (St.) : *Milman.*  
 Tiles, encaustic : *Renaud.*  
 Titsey : *Gower.*  
 Towneley family : *Yates.*  
 Travels in England : *Gould.*  
 Treasure trove : *Evans.*  
 Trepanning the skull : *Munro.*  
 Trewortha Marsh : *Baring-Gould.*  
 Twyford : *Kirby.*

Vernon (Dorothy) : *Cockayne.*  
 Vernon family : *Yeatman.*  
 Veryard (Ellis) : *Troup.*  
 Viking antiquities : *M'Neill.*

Waberthwaite : *Calverley.*  
 Wales : *Rhys, Taylor, Williams, Willis-Bund.*  
 Walloon refugees : *Rahleubeck.*  
 Wallsend : *Blair, Haverfield.*  
 Wandsworth : *Patrick.*  
 Warwickshire : *Carter, Tilley. See* Birmingham, Little Compton.  
 Wax modelling : *Gosset.*  
 Wellington : *Elworthy.*  
 Wentworth family : *Wentworth.*  
 Westmoreland, *see* Windermere.  
 Widows and vowesses : *André.*  
 Willibald (St.) : *Brownlow.*  
 Wills : *Berks, Clark, Crisp.*  
 Wiltshire, *see* Broughton Gifford, Malmesbury.



Winchelsea : *Hope*.  
 Winder family : *Winder*.  
 Windermere : *Cowper*.  
 Witham : *Lucas*.  
 Withers (Edmund) : *Grenside*.  
 Woolley : *Wentworth*.

York : *Buckle, Eastwood*.  
 Yorkshire : *Ellis, Macquire, Stephenson*.  
     *See* Doncaster, Fishlake, Furness,  
     Gargrave, Middleham, Osgoldcross,  
     Rievaulx, Ripon, Selby, Sutton,  
     Woolley.





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